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Clarksville, Tennessee Honors Veterans with 5-Day Celebration in September

Clarksville, Tenn. is a community that appreciates veterans. The city borders the Fort Campbell Army Post, so appreciating military service is simply the way of life for both residents and businesses. Beyond the ingrained respect, the community publicly honors its heroes with an annual five-day Welcome Home Veterans Celebration. This year, during September 18-22, the community will host multiple activities to celebrate and honor veterans.

New activities on tap for 2019 include:

- **9/11 Never Forget Mobile Exhibit**, a tribute to all those who lost their lives on September 11, 2001. The memorial provides interactive education; including artifacts such as steel beams from the towers, documentary videos, and recordings of first responder radio transmissions. Interactive guided tours are carried out by FDNY firefighters

who provide firsthand accounts of the day and its aftermath.

- **Traveling Korean War Memorial**, consists of 19 soldiers walking through a Korean rice paddy and three soldiers off to the side setting up a campfire.

Returning activities for the Celebration Week include:

- **Lee Greenwood Concert.** Enjoy this American music legend in a free outdoor concert.
- **American Traveling Tribute Wall** is an 80-percent scale version of the Vietnam Memorial Wall in Washington, DC and contains every name that is etched on the original monument.
- **Field of Honor – Veterans Tribute** flag display is part of a nationally recognized community program that demonstrates the strength and unity of Americans
- **A Wreath Laying and Massing of the Colors** will take place at the Wall.

- **A Valor Luncheon** features a key-note speaker and presentation from Quilts of Valor.
- **Welcome Home Parade** in historic downtown on Saturday. (Veterans, please register on the event website to participate.)

See all exhibits and the Lee Greenwood concert at Beachaven Vineyards & Winery, 1100 Dunlop Lane. Keep up to date with all activities or register for events online at welcomehomeveteranscelebration.com or contact Frances Manzitto by email at frances@visitclarksvilletn.com or phone at 931-245-4345.

AARP is the premier sponsor for all event activities. Clarksville is located 40 miles northwest of Nashville near the Tennessee/Kentucky border on I-24.



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SEPTEMBER 2019

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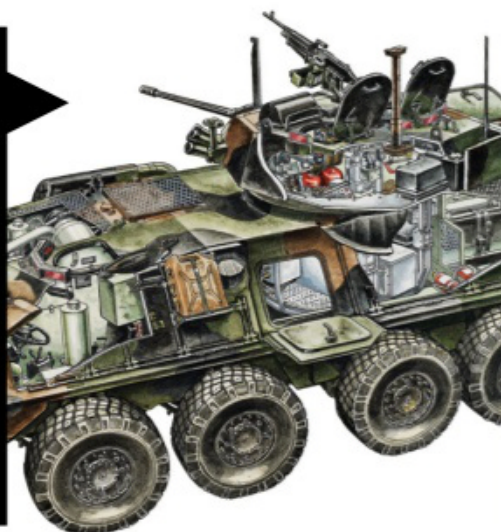
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On the cover: A Canadian army light armored vehicle overwatches NATO troops engaged in Operation Medusa near Kandahar, Afghanistan, in 2006. (Canadian Department of Defence)

Join the discussion at
militaryhistory.com



The Wages of War

In 1965 Rhodesia's white-minority government went rogue, sparking a war with present-day repercussions
By Dana Benner

IN THE ARCHIVES:

Waking the Hermit

In 1871 the closed kingdom of Korea became an unwilling participant in international power politics
By Joseph F. Callo

Interview Daniel Guiet relates the clandestine wartime service of his father, OSS and SOE operator Jean-Claude Guiet

Tools By 1943 Britain and the United States had developed the Airspeed Horsa and Waco CG-4A gliders to move men and materiel

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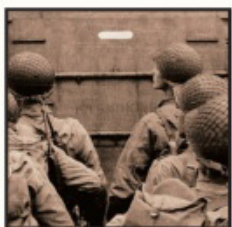


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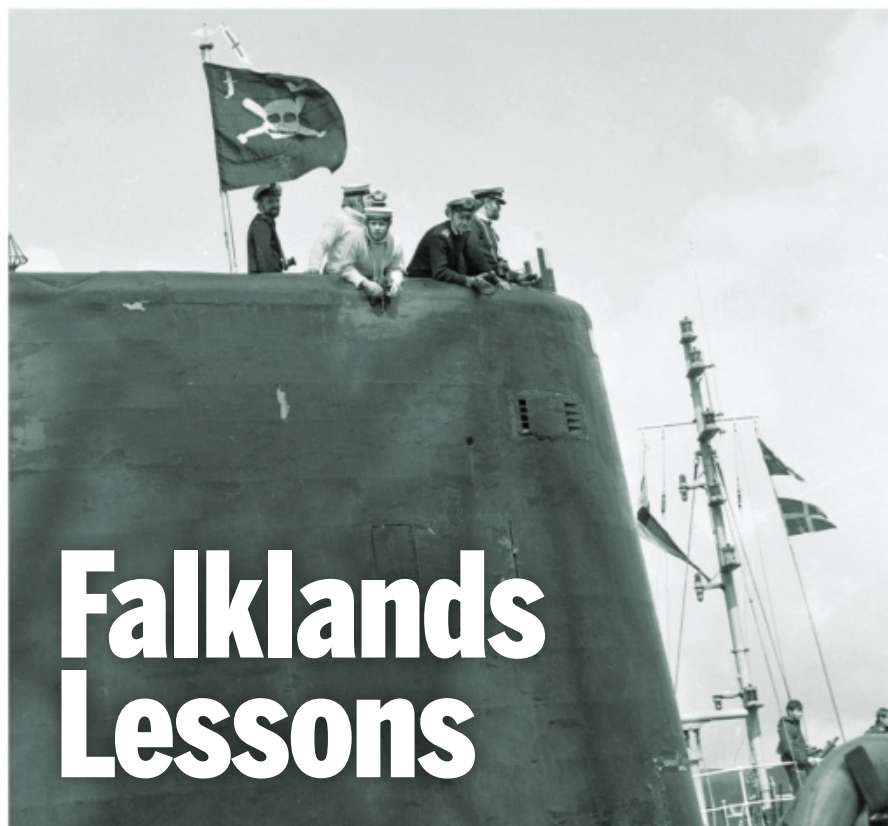
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Letters



I enjoyed the March 2019 article about the sinking of the Argentine cruiser [“Sink the *Belgrano*!” by Patrick S. Baker]. The description of the movements of the Royal Navy vessels was thorough, but there are some features that were not described and may be of interest.

Certainly all the Argentine naval vessels withdrew from the scene, but planes with Exocet missiles were still a real threat. After the British troops landed on the island, which was quickly and efficiently done, cargo ships entered the harbor to unload their war materiel. Unhappily, the ship carrying helicopters that were going to be used as air support for the ground troops who had to cross the island to capture Stanley, the capital, was sunk by airdropped Exocets, and only one helo was off-loaded.

Admiral Sandy Woodward was aware of the threat posed by the missiles and, as you

reported, withdrew many miles to the east and by doing so protected his fleet, but that made support of the ground troops almost nonexistent, as the time to fly to and from the targets was long, and the actual time over the island very short.

There is a lesson here to be heeded: Carriers are very vulnerable. Perhaps the days of their glory are over—just like that of battleships

*Surgeon-Lieutenant
Douglas Gebbie,
Royal Naval Volunteer
Reserve (Ret.)*

NAPLES, FLA.

Internment

Your article [“Taking Liberties,” July 2018] about the World War II detention camps for Americans of Japanese descent included the usual information. However, there is more that would have been useful to include. I am a frequent lecturer on the Pacific War, and my most

popular lecture is “The Other Reasons Japan Lost the War,” which gets into the nitty-gritty on how Japan needlessly shot itself in the foot. My father, U.S. Marine Corps Capt. Cliff Graham, spoke Japanese and was a wartime code breaker/translator. Some of the following information comes directly from him and from my own research of some 40 years.

Though the Japanese Purple Code was broken in the months leading up to the Pearl Harbor attack, there were simply too many messages to deal with, and what appeared to be lower priority ones were stacked along a wall at Station HYPO [the U.S. Navy cryptographic unit in Hawaii]. Once there were sufficient bodies to man HYPO, messages from the Japanese Foreign Office to its consulates and embassy in the U.S. were discovered, some of which included instructions to set up fifth column rings among those deemed loyal to Japan, primarily on the U.S. West Coast, to sabotage defense plants. This was actually the proximate cause of [President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s] Executive Order 9066. In the urgency of the moment there simply wasn’t the luxury of interviewing all 110,000 *Nisei* and *Isei* to determine loyalty, and there certainly wasn’t the luxury of finding out the hard way how successful the [fifth column] effort had been. There was also extreme concern the Japanese might figure out we were reading their codes—

a reason that could not be made public. *Nisei* I have known over the years were familiar with these efforts.

While there were no incidents of sabotage or overt disloyalty when the camps were first set up, there were certain internees who were clearly rooting for Japan—generally those either educated in Japan or recently arrived in the United States. About 5,000 of the 110,000 in all the camps were deemed “troublemakers” and put in a special high-security section in the camp at Tule Lake. The patriotism of the vast majority of the detainees led them to point out to authorities those whose loyalty was suspect.

There is no question the rounding up of the Japanese was handled poorly. At the very least the government could/should have picked up the mortgages or leases on the detainees’ properties for the duration. But war is hell, and bad stuff happens. The attitude of most of the internees, that detention was their contribution to the war effort, is extremely poignant to me. Poignant beyond words are the exploits of the 442nd RCT and 100th Infantry Division.

Dana Graham

RANCHO PALOS VERDES,
CALIF.

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News

By Brendan Manley



Israel took the Golan Heights from Syria when attacked during the 1967 Six-Day War and has no plans to return it.

TRUMP RECOGNIZES ISRAEL'S CLAIM ON GOLAN HEIGHTS

On March 25, 2019, President Donald J. Trump signed a proclamation formally recognizing Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights—a 700-square-mile plateau east of the Jordan River that Israel largely seized from Syria in the closing stages of the 1967 Six-Day War. The plateau has particular strategic significance due to its vantage overlooking both Israel and Syria, as well as the buffer it creates between the rival nations.

Trump's action reverses decades of U.S. policy and bucks international consensus regarding the status of the long-disputed territory. Adopted in the aftermath of the 1967 war, U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories it had “occupied,” including the heights. In defense of its claim Israel points to wording in the resolution recognizing its “right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free

from threats or acts of force.” At the outset of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Syrian armored units attacked and overran much of the heights but were repelled by Israeli forces. Eight years later Israel extended its laws to the region, effectively annexing it and offering citizenship to all non-Israelis.

In 2018 U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Nikki Haley rejected the General Assembly's symbolic annual resolution that condemns Israel's presence in the “Syrian Golan,” decrying the document as “plainly biased against Israel” and calling out the embattled Syrian regime's “lack of fitness to govern anyone.” Some 50,000 people live in the Golan Heights, about half of them Israeli settlers, the rest mostly ethnic Syrians of the Druze faith, an offshoot of Shia Islam. Scarcely one-fifth of the latter have applied for Israeli citizenship, though interest has risen since the 2011 outbreak of the Syrian Civil War.

‘We hold the high ground, and we shall never give it up’

—Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

New Army Duds Evoke WWII

The U.S. Army is field-testing new service uniforms with brownish-green belted jackets, khaki pants and brown leather oxfords that call to mind WWII-era “pinks and greens” officers’ uniforms. Scheduled to roll out in summer 2020, “Army greens” will cost service



members slightly more but are made of more durable materials. Female service members can opt to wear a pencil skirt and pumps, while a retro leather bomber will also be available.

Tech Enhances D-Day Exhibit

The National Museum of the U.S. Air Force [nationalmuseum.af.mil], in Dayton, Ohio, pays tribute to the June 6, 1944, Allied landings in Normandy, France, with its 75th anniversary exhibit “D-Day: Freedom From Above,” spotlighting Sainte-Mère-Église—among the first towns liberated—and the U.S. 82nd and 101st airborne divisions, which fought there. Available HistoPad tablets [histoverly.com] allow museum visitors to explore aircraft interiors, manipulate 3-D artifacts and compare then-and-now images.



The U.S. Navy Information Operations Command Hawaii at Joint Base Pearl Harbor–Hickam recently marked the 50th anniversary of an April 15, 1969, incident during the Korean DMZ Conflict (see “The Korean War That Almost Was,” by Mike Coppock, in the May 2019 issue) in which a North Korean MiG-21 fighter shot down a Navy Lockheed EC-121M Warning Star reconnaissance aircraft, killing all 31 Americans aboard. Nearly two-dozen relatives of the slain attended the memorial observance on Ford Island. The shootdown in international airspace over the Sea of Japan, some 90 nautical miles off the east coast of North Korea, sparked domestic outrage, though President Richard Nixon refrained from a retaliatory attack, instead stationing a task force in the region and providing future recon flights with fighter escorts.

MEDAL OF HONOR TO A SELFLESS SOLDIER

President Trump has awarded a posthumous Medal of Honor to U.S. Army Staff Sgt. Travis Atkins, 31, who was killed in a June 1, 2007, suicide bombing in Abu Sarnak, Iraq, while serving with Company D, 2nd Battalion, 14th Infantry Regiment, 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division. During a security patrol Atkins had stopped a pair of suspected insurgents when one of the men reached to trigger an explosive suicide vest. Disregarding his own safety, the staff sergeant tackled the man to the ground, absorbing the brunt of the blast to save three fellow soldiers standing nearby. Atkins’ son, Trevor Oliver (at left in photo), accepted the medal on his father’s behalf.



WAR RECORD

Aug. 4, 1578

Forces led by Moroccan Sultan Abdelmalek defeat an army led by Portuguese King Sebastian I in support of deposed Sultan Moulay Mohammed at the **Battle of Alcazar** (P. 34). All three royals die that day.

September 1960

Monsignor **Hugh O’Flaherty** (P. 42), 62, who during World War II headed up an escape-and-evasion network at Vatican City, retires from the Catholic Church after 38 years in Rome. He dies three years later at his sister’s home in Cahersiveen, Ireland.

Sept. 2, 2006

Canadian-led NATO troops launch **Operation Medusa** (P. 24), a 15-day offensive against Taliban insurgents in southern Afghanistan. After a rocky start coalition troops kill 512 insurgents and capture 136 in one of NATO’s largest combat operations to date.

Sept. 8, 1755

British Maj. Gen. Sir William Johnson’s 3,000 colonials and King Hendrick’s 250 allied Mohawks repel 1,500 attacking French, Canadian and allied Indian warriors under Brig. Gen. Ludwig von Dieskau at the **Battle of Lake George** (P. 48). In defeat Dieskau sustains four wounds and is captured.

Sept. 15, 1944

U.S. Marines landing on the Japanese-held Pacific island of **Peleliu** (P. 56) are met by a heavy enemy crossfire that destroys 60 landing craft within an hour. The Americans persevere, though the victory predicted to take four days stretches into a 73-day nightmare.



DICK COLE, 103, LAST OF THE DOOLITTLE RAIDERS

Retired U.S. Air Force Lt. Col. Richard E. Cole, 103, the last surviving airman to have participated in the 1942 Doolittle Raid—the first Allied air strike against the Japanese Home Islands during World War II—died on April 9 in San Antonio, Texas. The Air Force held a memorial service for Cole at Joint Base San Antonio–Randolph on April 18—77 years to the day after the bold raid. He was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery [arlingtoncemetery.mil] in Virginia.

Launching from the aircraft carrier USS *Hornet* in the Pacific Ocean some 650 nautical miles east of Japan, U.S. Army Air Forces Lt. Col. James Doolittle and Cole, his co-pilot, led 78 other aviators in 16 modified North American B-25B Mitchell bombers toward Tokyo and other targets on Honshu. Each aircraft carried five crewmen, four 500-pound bombs and just enough fuel to reach China. Fifteen crews ditched at sea off China or bailed out over the mainland, while one landed in the Soviet Union and was interned. Sixty-nine crewmen escaped capture or death, including Cole, who parachuted into a tree and later rendezvoused with Chinese troops. Of the 11 others, seven died, including three executed by the Japanese. But the strike, coming four months after the attack on Pearl Harbor, eroded Japan's sense of security and boosted Allied morale.

After the raid Cole flew C-47 Dakotas over “The Hump” between Burma and China until June 1943, when he volunteered as an air commando for Project 9, a precursor to the present-day 1st Special Operations Wing. He finished out the war stateside as a test pilot and training officer. After a quarter-century in the Air Force, he retired in 1966. Cole's many decorations include the Distinguished Flying Cross with two oak leaf clusters and the Bronze Star.

‘We were just doing our job, part of the big picture, and happy that what we did was helpful’

—Dick Cole

TOPGUN Turns 50

The U.S. Navy Strike Fighter Tactics Instructor program (aka TOPGUN) turns 50 this year. Established in 1969 at Naval Air Station Miramar, in San Diego, Calif., TOPGUN (subject of the eponymous 1986 film) first taught Navy F-4 Phantom aircrews how to combat Russian-built MiG fighters in Vietnam, improving their kill-to-loss ratio from 3.7-to-1 to 13-to-1. In 1996 the program merged into the Naval Strike and Air Warfare Center at Naval Air Station Fallon [cnic.navy.mil/fallon], Nev.

Napoléon's Gilded Throne Fetches \$500K

At a recent auction in Fontainebleau, France, Osenat [osenat.com] sold a gilded throne built for Napoléon Bonaparte for \$560,000, smashing



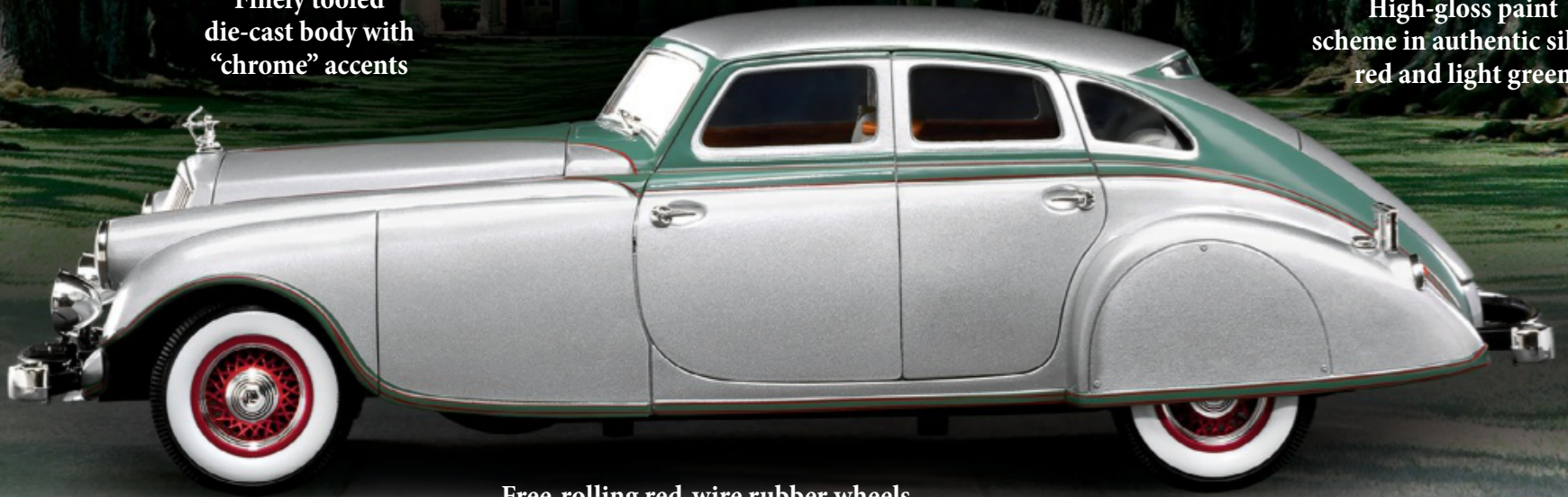
presale estimates by nearly a half-million. The neoclassical piece, which spent a century in the collection of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco [famsf.org], is one of five such thrones Napoléon commissioned on becoming emperor in May 1804.

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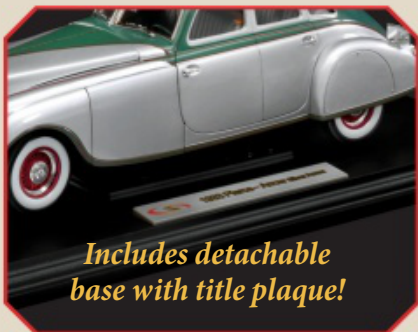


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Arizona Memorial Under Repair

This fall the National Park Service expects to wind up \$2.1 million in repairs to the USS *Arizona* Memorial [\[nps.gov/valr\]](https://www.nps.gov/valr) at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The 184-foot floating memorial—which straddles the wreck of the namesake 608-foot battleship sunk during the Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese attack—has been



closed to visitors since May 2018, when its anchoring system failed. It will reportedly reopen in time for 78th anniversary observances.

British Salvors Eye WWI Wine

British maritime salvors are organizing an expedition to recover a trove of vintage wine, champagne and spirits more than 300 feet below the surface of the English Channel off Cornwall. The cargo—worth millions, if unspoiled—was aboard a merchant ship sunk by a German U-boat in 1918. Luxury tour operator Cookson Adventures [\[cooksonadventures.com\]](https://www.cooksonadventures.com) invites paying customers to join the expedition and will provide a private chef and helicopter transport to and from the salvage vessel.

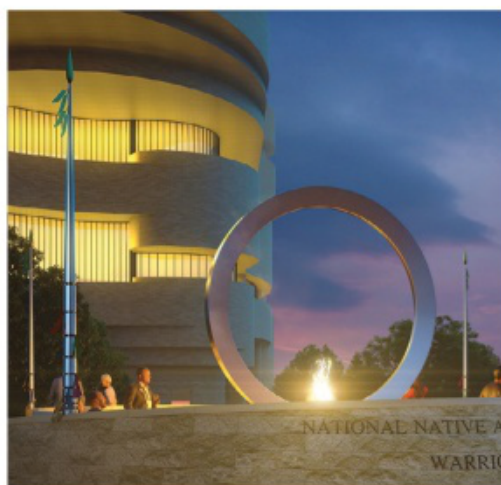
MONUMENT REVEALS ANCIENT SEA BATTLE



Researchers studying the Greek ruins of Nicopolis, capital of an ancient Roman province, have made discoveries about the pivotal Sept. 2, 31 BC, naval Battle of Actium, fought in the Ionian Sea between a fleet under future Roman Emperor Octavian and the combined forces of rebel general Mark Antony and Egyptian Queen Cleopatra. Analysis of a victory monument Octavian commissioned at Nicopolis—notably the dimensions of 35 niches that once held battering rams taken from captured enemy ships—confirm that Antony and Cleopatra's warships were on average one-third larger (upward of 130 feet long) and thus less maneuverable than Octavian's nimbler Liburnian galleys. Octavian's triumph enabled him to consolidate power, marking the beginning of the Roman empire.

MEMORIAL TO HONOR AMERICAN WARRIORS

The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian will honor our nation's Indian, Alaska native and native Hawaiian military service members and veterans with the National Native American Veterans Memorial [\[americanindian.si.edu/nnavm\]](https://americanindian.si.edu/nnavm), scheduled to open in fall 2020 outside the museum on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Harvey Pratt's central monument, titled *Warriors' Circle of Honor*, is described on the memorial website as “an elevated stainless steel



circle balanced on an intricately carved stone drum... [incorporating] water for sacred ceremonies, benches for gathering and reflection, and four lances where veterans, family members, tribal leaders and others can tie cloths for prayers and healing.” Some 164,000 indigenous Americans have served or are serving in the U.S. armed forces, more per capita than any other ethnic group.

WAR PRIZES

To the victor belong the spoils, and indeed military history is rife with unique and colorful war trophies, such as the following:

Compiègne Wagon

This train carriage hosted the signing of the First and Second Armistices of Compiègne. Germany capitulated to the Allies at the first signing in 1918. After the 1940 French surrender, Adolf Hitler ordered the carriage moved to Berlin for public display. As Allied forces closed in on Germany in 1945, SS troops destroyed the carriage. The present-day memorial [\[armistice-museum.com\]](https://www.armistice-museum.com) at Compiègne centers on a replica carriage.

Santa Anna's Leg

Victorious U.S. troops from the 4th Illinois Volunteer Infantry captured Mexican Gen. Antonio López de Santa Anna's prosthetic leg after the April 18, 1847, Battle of Cerro Gordo amid the Mexican War. Despite claims from Texas, which had given the general a drubbing a decade earlier, the leg remains at the Illinois State Military Museum in Springfield.

American Eagle

The 295-foot U.S. Coast Guard bark *Eagle* [\[uscga.edu/eagle\]](https://uscga.edu/eagle), formerly *Horst Wessel*, was confiscated from Germany at the end of World War II as reparations. Still in use as an officer training vessel, the tall ship is one of only two active square-riggers in U.S. service, the other being the frigate *USS Constitution* [\[ussconstitutionmuseum.org\]](https://ussconstitutionmuseum.org).

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Valor Italy's American Hero

By Jon Guttman



1st Lt. De Witt Coleman Jr.
U.S. Army Air Service
Medaglia d'oro al
valor militare
Italy
World War I

After a few days of false starts due to enemy resistance and bad weather, the Italians launched their final offensive of World War I across the Piave River near the northern Italian town of Vittorio Veneto with an artillery bombardment on the night of Oct. 26, 1918, followed the next day by a general assault. Supporting their army, along

with attached British, French and American units, were overwhelming numbers of aircraft of the Italian army and naval air arms, the French air service and Britain's Royal Air Force. Although only able to field 20 aircraft as of October 25, Austro-Hungarian airmen often put up a fierce, if ultimately hopeless, fight.

On the morning of October 27 five Caproni Ca.5 trimotor heavy bombers of Italy's 6th *Squadriglia*, 11th *Gruppo di Bombardimento*, returned to their airfield at Trombetta and discovered one of their aircraft was missing, along with its four-man crew—two Italians and two Americans. After the war an Italian spy gave an eyewitness account of their combat deaths, which prompted a unique honor for the Caproni pilot, 1st Lt. De Witt B. Coleman Jr.

Born in New York on Oct. 29, 1892, Coleman enlisted when the United States entered the war, joined the U.S. Army Air Service and was one of a contingent of Americans sent to train on Italian aircraft at Foggia under the command of Major Fiorello H. La Guardia, the future mayor of New York City. On qualifying, Coleman first served as an instructor, then obtained a transfer to the 6th *Squadriglia* to make a fighting contribution to the Allied war effort.

On October 27 Coleman was piloting Ca.5 No. 11669, with fellow Army Air Service 1st Lt. James L. Bahl Jr. as his co-pilot, Lt. Vincenzo Cutello manning the rear machine gun and doubling as bombardier-navigator and Sgt. Tarcisio

Cantarutti manning the upper machine gun. After carrying out the bombing run, Coleman became separated from his formation and then came under attack by five Austro-Hungarian Aviatik (Berg) D.I fighters over Visentin Mountain, near the town of Revine.

A translation of a citation issued on Coleman's behalf describes the action:

Two of the adversaries were shot down by the infallible shooting of the encircled aircraft, on which the crew continued to fight, even in flames, until, hard-pressed and overwhelmed by the strong group of enemies, it fell, and the whole crew paid for its audacity with death.

Coleman and crew had been jumped by five Aviatiks of *Fliegerkompagnie* 74/J, operating from an airfield to the southeast in San Fior da Sopra. The downing of the Caproni was jointly credited to *Oberleutnants* Imre von Horváth and Roman Schmidt. It marked Schmidt's sixth and final victory of the war. Recovered by townspeople, the remains of the Caproni crewmen were buried in the town cemetery at Revine.

In recognition of the American airmen's courageous last stand, on Jan. 17, 1919, Italy awarded Bahl a posthumous *Medaglia d'argento al valor militare*, while Coleman received the *Medaglia d'oro al valor militare*. The latter, the Gold Medal of Military Valor, was Italy's highest decoration. Coleman was the only American to have received it.

In 1921 Coleman and Bahl's remains were repatriated and reinterred—Bahl in Wooster, Ohio, Coleman in Englewood, N.J. La Guardia attended Coleman's funeral. A hall of heroes at the Museum of the Battle [\[museivittorioveneto.it/en/museo_della_battaglia\]](http://museivittorioveneto.it/en/museo_della_battaglia) in Vittorio Veneto, the scene of Italy's greatest victory of World War I, has been dedicated in Coleman's honor. **MH**

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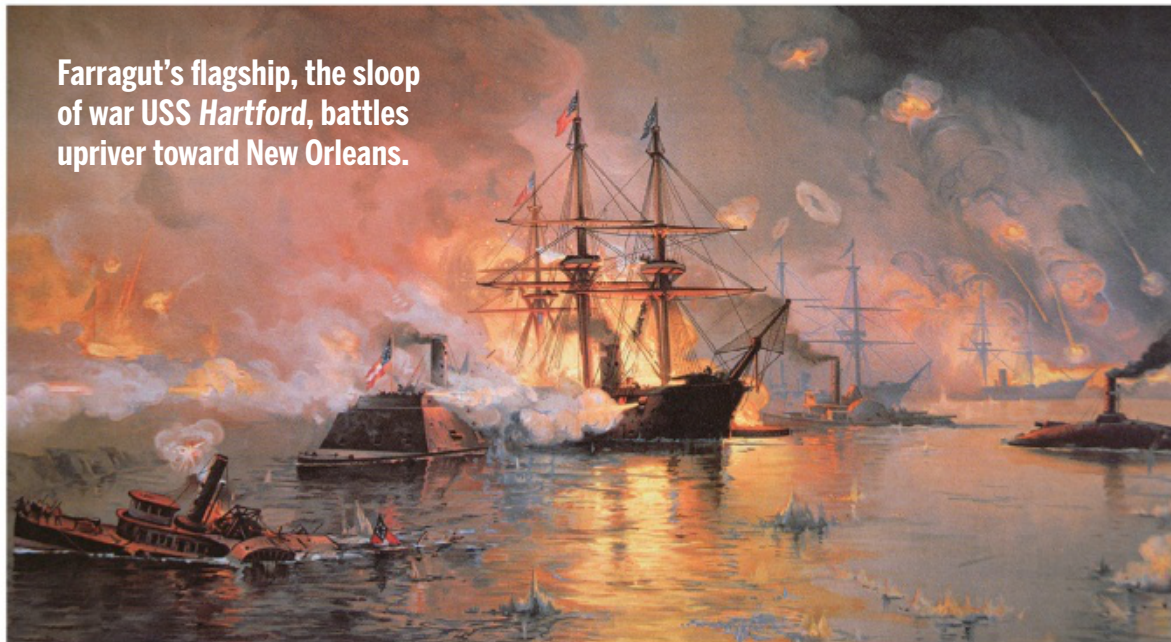
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What We Learned From... The Capture of New Orleans, 1862

By William John Shepherd



Farragut's flagship, the sloop of war *USS Hartford*, battles upriver toward New Orleans.

At the outset of the Civil War, New Orleans, near the mouth of the Mississippi River, was the Confederacy's largest city and port of trade. Its defenses were centered downriver at Forts Jackson and St. Philip, the river in between choked with sandbars that would inhibit the passage of big Union ships. In late 1861 U.S. Navy Commander David Dixon Porter arrived with a blockading squadron, and he devised a plan to capture the city that President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles quickly approved. It called for shallow-draft Navy gunboats and mortar boats to reduce the forts, allowing a force of upward of 30,000 troops upriver to occupy first New Orleans and then Vicksburg, Miss.

Commanding Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler reduced the land contingent significantly, effectively postponing any move on Vicksburg. He did commit some 18,000 troops, however, and the naval contingent boasted 24 gunboats and 19 mortar boats under veteran Captain David Farragut, a Southerner with Northern sympathies who later became the nation's first full admiral and among its most celebrated. He was also Butler's foster brother. By early 1862 New Orleans' Confederate defenders had 126 guns deployed in the two forts, scarcely a dozen gunboats, the ironclad ram *CSS Manassas*, the unfinished ironclad *CSS Louisiana* and assorted fireships. Also obstructing the passage was a chain cable stretching from shore to shore and threaded through eight moored hulks.

Farragut's fleet started upriver on April 18, launching an extensive bombardment that caused fire and flooding at Fort Jackson, though Fort St. Philip was minimally damaged. Farragut's men cut the chain cable, opening a gap on the east side of the river near Fort St. Philip. Finally, the determined captain—displaying the grit immortalized two years later in Mobile Bay with his battle cry “Damn the torpedoes!”—made the bold decision to run the gauntlet with a 17-vessel squadron and make for New Orleans. Early on April 24, as the mortar boats bombarded the forts, the lead gunboat division threaded the gap and made short work of the Confederate fleet. Leading the second division, Farragut concentrated his fire on Fort St. Philip to cover the slower third division, which lost three vessels. Mean-

while, Farragut's flagship, *USS Hartford*, ran aground, was hit by a fire raft and caught fire. *Hartford*'s crew worked heroically to extinguish the fire, then got the ship moving upriver again.

Reaching New Orleans on April 25, Farragut found the city vulnerable, as most of its defenders had left for Tennessee, only to suffer defeat at Shiloh. Confederate Maj. Gen. Mansfield Lovell had also evacuated his 3,000 militiamen, yet he and Mayor John T. Monroe refused to surrender, so on April 29 Farragut sent Marines to secure the custom house and city hall. On May 1 Butler's troops arrived to occupy the city. After its fall Farragut continued upriver, capturing Baton Rouge and Natchez, though he found Vicksburg, not yet the great Confederate citadel it would become, still too strong to assault with the forces at hand.

Lessons:

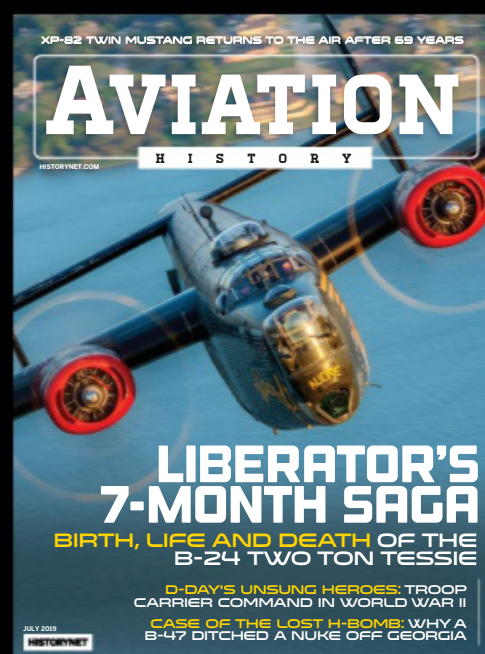
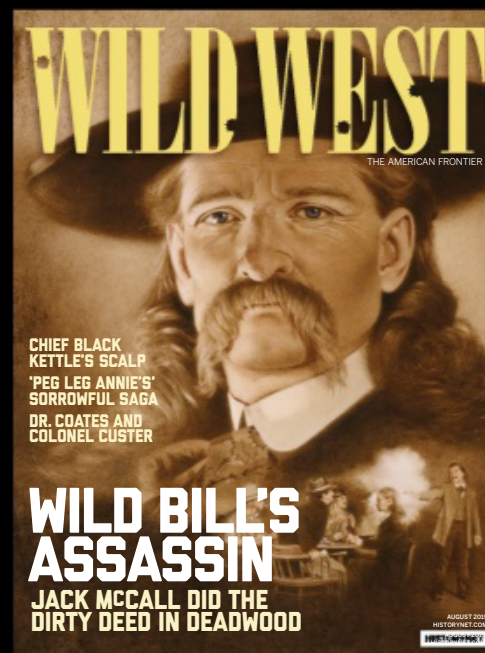
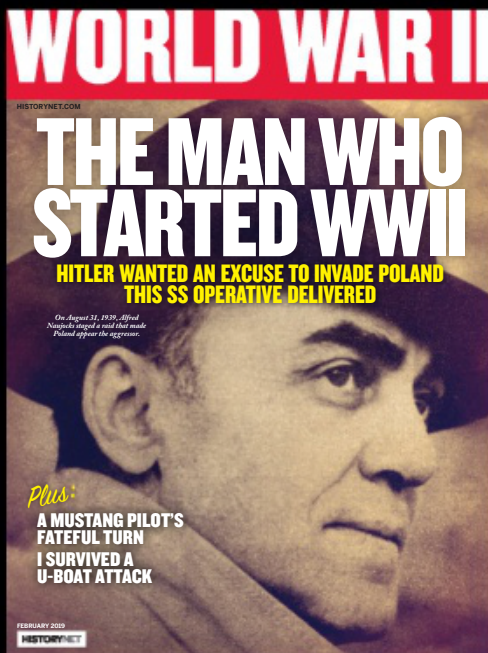
Who dares, wins. Farragut's bold decision to run his fleet past the defending forts rather than wait for their reduction won him New Orleans.

Consider all threats. General Lovell, Confederate President Jeff Davis and other senior Rebel leaders displayed strategic myopia in failing to perceive the risk to the city.

Cut enemy supply lines. With command of the city, the Union choked off Confederate commercial and naval traffic through the port, causing irreparable economic and military damage to the Rebel cause.

Victories boost morale. The Union's early capture of New Orleans significantly motivated Northern forces, ultimately leading to the string of Union battlefield successes that marked the Western Campaign. **MH**

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Interview

Walking With Churchill

Interview by Claire Barrett



Andrew Roberts

In Churchill: Walking With Destiny—rated by The New York Times as the best one-volume biography of Winston Churchill yet written—British author and historian Andrew Roberts explores seemingly well-trod territory. More books have been written on the celebrated British prime minister than any other 20th-century figure, with the exception of his nemesis Adolf Hitler. But Roberts' work, based on extensive new material from King George VI's diary and wartime meeting notes, brings to light a more multifaceted character than ever before. Roberts charts Churchill's many trials and tribulations as he emerged from "the wilderness" to become Britain's symbol of courage and defiance in World War II. In his interview with Military History the author elucidates why the world still needs—and has much to learn from—Churchill.

Of the many biographies of Churchill, what makes *Walking With Destiny* unique?

The new sources I found. Queen Elizabeth allowed me to be the first Churchill biographer to use her father's extensive and detailed diaries. King George VI met Churchill every Tuesday of the Second World War. Churchill trusted him with all of the great secrets of the war, and the king wrote everything down. I was very fortunate to have this exciting new source. Forty-one sets of papers also have been deposited at Churchill College, Cambridge, since the last major biography of Churchill.

How did Churchill's early military experiences affect his performance as wartime prime minister?

They were crucial. He went to [the Royal Military Academy] Sandhurst and fought in five campaigns on four continents, and his experience in the trenches in the First World War were very important as well. The day he became prime minister he said, "All my past life has been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial."

That was specifically true when it came to military history. He'd been thinking about it, he'd been writing about it, he'd been immersed in it and fascinated by it for 40 years. As a result, he ensured that the men on the front line were taken care of, that there should be fresh bread, a postal service that worked so they could be in touch with their loved ones, things like that. Doing such things was absolutely instinctive to Churchill, because he had been on the front line himself.

How did his generals react to his military advice to them?

They tended not to like it, of course, because generals don't want to be told by politicians what to do. Churchill wasn't going to make the same mistake made in the First World War, where overmighty soldiers and sailors like Admiral John Fisher and General Douglas Haig and Field Marshals William Robertson and Herbert Kitchener became more powerful than the civil leaders and the politicians and statesmen. That's why he made himself minister of defense as well as prime minister in May 1940, and why he ensured he chaired the defense committee of the War Cabinet, which met so very often with the chiefs of staff to plan operational policy.

He had clashes with Field Marshal Alanbrooke, chief of the Imperial General Staff and, from March 1942, chairman of the British Chiefs of Staff. Churchill never overruled him. But policy was made through the creative tension between these two men.

To what extent did Churchill's oratorical skills motivate Britons during World War II?

They were transformational. Britain went into the war with no great enthusiasm. It was only a generation after the bloodletting of the Great War. There were no celebrating crowds in the streets as in 1914. After the disaster at Dunkirk, where the British Expeditionary Force was forced off the Continent, it would have been easy for a mood of defeatism to have crept over Britain. There were people like Lloyd George, the previous prime minister, who wanted to make peace with Hitler.



Churchill's oratory—the great “We shall fight on the beaches” speech on June 4, 1940, the “This was their finest hour” speech of June 18 and many others—encouraged the British people to realize they had been there before. Churchill the military historian was able to talk about the times Britain had been in the same kind of danger yet had wound up being victorious. He was able to boost Britain's morale in a way that was quite exceptional.

Did his personal example have a similarly salutary effect?

Yes, that was tremendously important as well. Hitler never visited a bombed household or town or city. Churchill

By the turn of the 20th century Churchill, posing here in 1899, had served in the British army, been a war correspondent in South Africa and gained fame for escaping from a Boer POW camp.

did. He went out to the East End, toured the bombed areas, and he used this as a morale-boosting thing to do, which is quite extraordinary. He went to the places where the *Luftwaffe* had ostensibly been successful and turned it into a propaganda victory for Britain.

Despite his brilliant performance, he was ousted at war's end. How did that affect him?

He was crushed by it initially; it seemed an appalling personal rejection. On the actual day it happened, when it

was clear there was a landslide defeat in the offing, his wife, Clementine, said, “Well, this looks like a blessing in disguise.” Churchill replied, “Well, from where I'm sitting, it looks quite effectively disguised.” But he did come around to appreciating the British people wanted change, and they had been through a lot during the war.

Which aspects of Churchill's character do you find most compelling?

His moral and physical courage. There are plenty of people who have one or



A suitably attired Churchill poses outside his campaign tent in Bloemfontein, South Africa, shortly before his capture by Boer commandos. Above right: Four decades later British Prime Minister Churchill balances his top hat atop his walking stick as daughter Mary looks on.

the other, but relatively few have both. And he most certainly did. In the 1930s, when he took a definite stance against Hitler and the Nazis, he was shouted down in the House of Commons. He was accused of being a war-monger, and he was ridiculed in the press. Yet he didn't change his mind. And he learned from his mistakes. Relatively few politicians are able to do that. Churchill was, and that was a great strength.

How did Churchill's relationship with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt affect the course of the war?

It was central. It was tremendously important these two men got on. Imme-

diately after Pearl Harbor Churchill stayed at the White House for three weeks, and he and Roosevelt, along with the American and British chiefs of staff, cobbled together the war-winning strategy. It was an act of tremendous statesmanship on both of their parts and on the part of the people at the War Department who had already been working on this for several years.

Churchill and Roosevelt had a lot in common. They were both aristocrats of their own countries and slightly to the left of politics, so they did see eye to eye. They became close personal friends. Even when the relationship started to break down over political issues in the fall of 1944, you still have a close personal and warm regard that

survived until Churchill finally said goodbye to Roosevelt at Alexandria in February 1945.

Is there anything you've learned about Churchill that surprised you?

The thing that surprised me most about the new sources I discovered in the various resources I had access to—and the Churchill family allowed me all sorts of access that hasn't been given to other writers—was the way in which Churchill felt enormous frustration at the United States for not getting more involved in the war before Hitler declared war on the United States on Dec. 11, 1941.

Churchill saw America as the most powerful democracy in the world, understandably, and he very much wanted it to get more involved. But he couldn't say as much, because it would have



During a July 1, 1945, visit to occupied Berlin, Churchill pauses outside Adolf Hitler's ruined bunker to occupy one of the late *Führer's* chairs.

provoked great isolationist reaction among the “America Firsters” in the United States. In his conversations with the king, for example, he is critical of the fleet positioning at Pearl Harbor, but of course couldn't say this to the press or the public or Parliament.

Churchill is known for his wit. Do you have a favorite quote?

Well, they change all the time. Churchill just made so many good jokes—there are about 200 in the book. But nonetheless, yes, there is something very funny: Before the war, when Joachim von Ribbentrop, at that time the German ambassador to London, threatened Churchill at a reception, saying, “You do realize that in the next war Italy will be on the side of the Third Reich,” Churchill replied, “But it seems only fair; we had to have them last time.”

How do you familiarize yourself with the subjects of your books?

Through total immersion in their writings, their diaries and their correspondence, and by just concentrating as

much as possible on primary sources. I'm not a great one actually for reading all the secondary sources for people I write about. In Churchill's case, of course, that would be a completely impossible undertaking, since there are 1,009 biographies of him.

Do you have another book project in mind?

I do. I've just signed a contract for a

biography of King George III. I am going to attempt to persuade Americans that their last king was not the tyrant of the Declaration of Independence and the current, popular musical *Hamilton*, but was, indeed, an

‘Churchill was accused of being a warmonger and ridiculed in the press’

enlightened monarch. He managed to get the American Revolution entirely wrong, of course, and was extremely unfortunate to live in the same generation as people like George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson and James Monroe. Tremendously unlucky of him, really. And, contrary to popular belief, the king did not go mad until after the revolution. **MH**

Hardware LAV-25

By Jon Guttman

Illustration by Henry Morshead

In response to growing tensions in the Middle East, U.S. President Jimmy Carter's administration called for a Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force, which in 1980 prompted the Army and Marine Corps to acquire an off-the-shelf light armored vehicle, or LAV. Two years later, after testing designs from three motor companies (one American, one Canadian and one British) at Twentynine Palms, Calif., and Yuma, Ariz., the respective branches accepted a vehicle proposed by the defense division of General Motors of Canada (later acquired by General Dynamics). GM's prototype was a license-built 8x8 amphibious takeoff on the Piranha family of armored fighting vehicles designed by the Swiss firm MOWAG.

Funding shortfalls forced the Army to abandon its program, but the Marines ultimately purchased 758 LAVs. The LAV-25 reconnaissance variant (with a three-man crew and room for four passengers in combat gear) first saw use during the 1989–90 invasion of Panama and has since served in the Balkans, Haiti, Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan. Other variants include the LAV-L logistics vehicle (for cargo/transport), the LAV-R recovery vehicle (fitted with a roof-mounted crane), the LAV-C2 command and control vehicle, the LAV-AT antitank vehicle (armed with an Emerson 901A1 tube-launched, optically tracked wire-guided missile), the LAV-M mortar carrier (armed with an 81 mm M252) and the LAV-MEWSS mobile electronic warfare support system vehicle. Other nations using LAV variants have included Australia (whose ASLAV-25 is fitted with a chain gun and two machine guns), Saudi Arabia (whose LAVAG mounts a 90 mm Cockerill Mk.8 gun system) and Canada (whose LAV-25 Coyote recon vehicle dispenses with all amphibious equipment). Upgrades in armor and survivability—for example, in the U.S. Marine LAV-25A2 shown here—will provide the Marines with an effective vehicle through its 2035 expected service life. **MH**

LAV-25A2

Engine: 275 hp Detroit Diesel 6V53T

Length: 21 feet

Width: 8 feet 2 inches

Height: 8 feet 10 inches

Combat weight: 28,100 pounds

Armament: M242 25 mm

Bushmaster chain gun with 210 rounds of ammunition and two M240E1 7.62 mm machine guns (one coaxially mounted in turret, one pintle-mounted on roof), each with 660 rounds

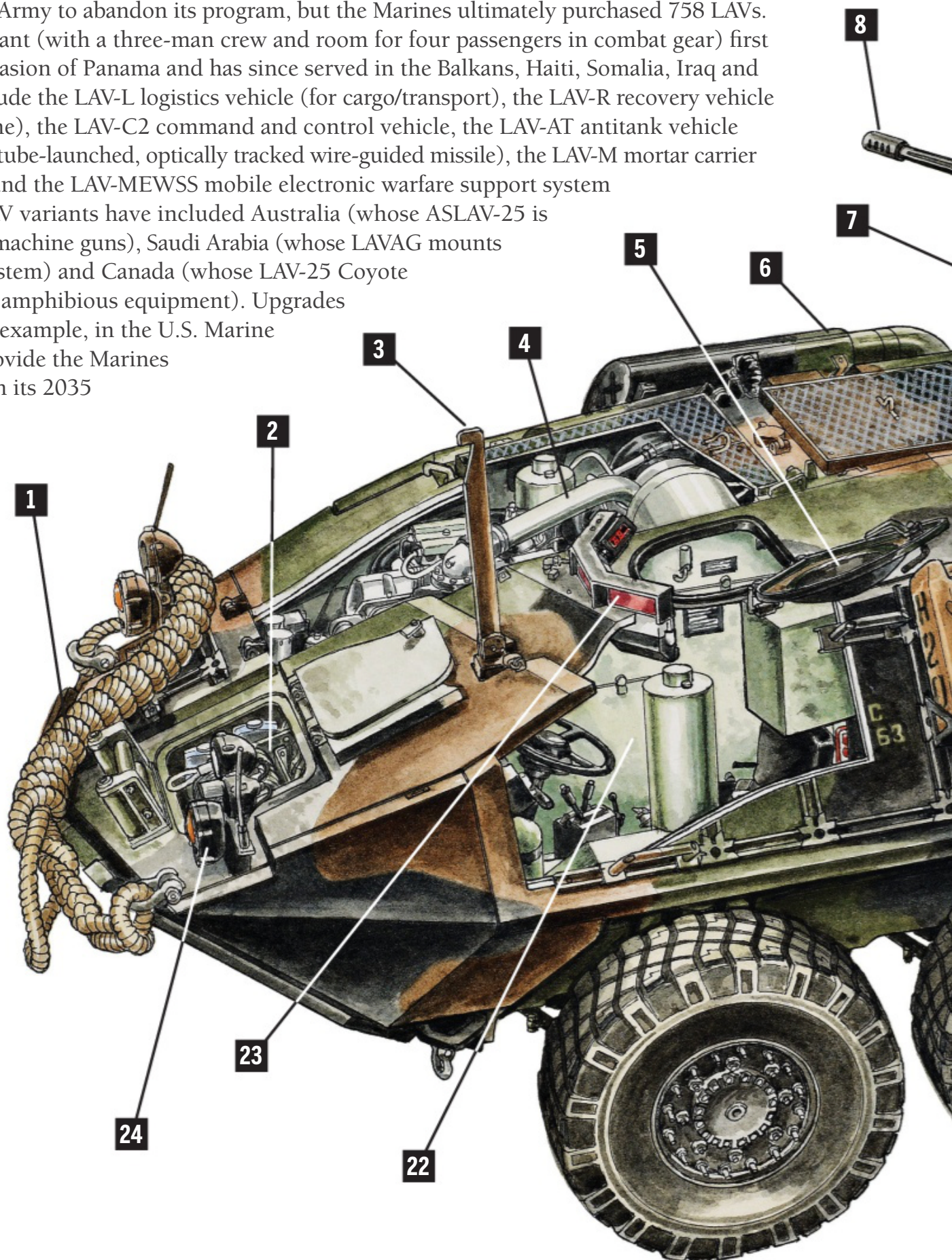
Speed:

Land: 62 mph

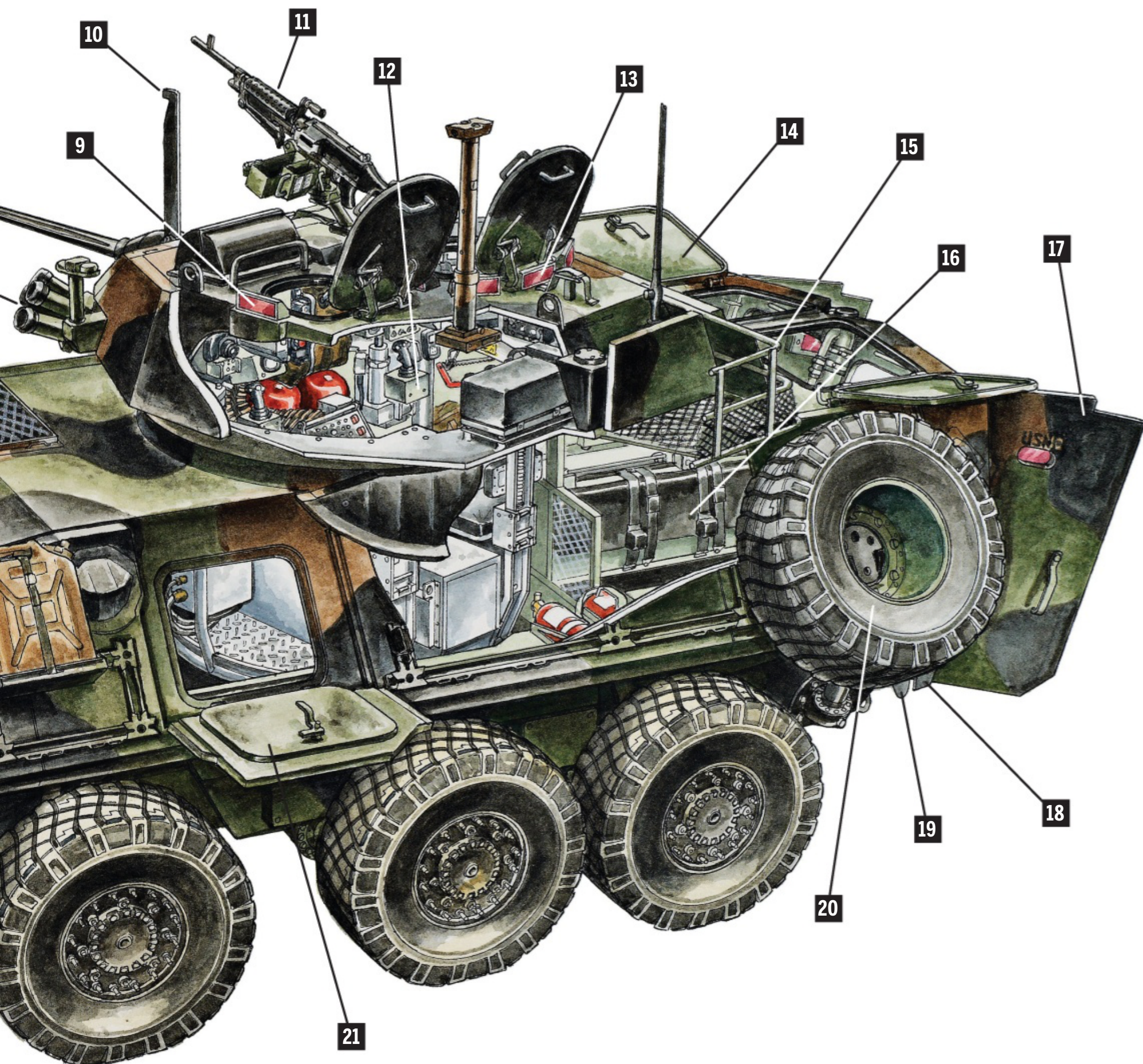
Water: 6.5 mph

Range: 410 miles

Crew: Three (commander, gunner, driver)



1. Towrope
2. Self-recovery winch and hatch
3. Driver's wire cutter
4. Engine compartment (Detroit Diesel 6V53T)
5. Driver's hatch
6. Exhaust pipe and muffler
7. Grenade launcher for L8A1 smoke grenades
8. M242 25 mm chain gun
9. Gunner's periscope
10. Wire cutter
11. Pintle-mounted M240E1 7.62 mm machine gun
12. Commander's station
13. Commander's M27 periscopes (seven)
14. Troop compartment hatches
15. Bustle rack
16. Troop seats
17. Rear doors
18. Twin rudders
19. Propeller
20. Spare tire
21. Emergency hatch
22. Driver's compartment
23. Driver's periscopes (three)
24. Left headlight cluster (headlight, blackout headlight and turn/park/marker light)





From partial concealment Canadian LAV III vehicles cover infantry troops moving against a Taliban-held village at the outset of Operation Medusa.

MEDUSA'S CURSE

In 2006 Canadians assaulting a Taliban stronghold near Kandahar, Afghanistan, came under attack from a multi-fanged enemy
By Bob Gordon





Just after 1 p.m. on Jan. 15, 2006, a convoy carrying members of the Canadian Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) entered Kandahar through its twin gates, known—with a tongue-in-cheek nod to McDonald's—as the “Golden Arches.” The five vehicles passed a checkpoint, slowed to negotiate a traffic circle, then picked up speed. They were minutes from the relative safety of Camp Nathan Smith, PRT's base in Afghanistan's restive southern province.

As the convoy passed a taxi stand, a silver Toyota minivan swung out alongside the unarmored Mercedes-Benz G-Wagon light utility vehicle carrying veteran Canadian diplomat Glyn Berry. A moment later the Toyota exploded, hurling Berry's vehicle into the air. The G-Wagon rotated several times before crashing back to earth, landing on its side in a tangle of flaming wreckage. Three soldiers lay wounded. Berry was dead. Canada had suffered its first fatality of what would become a blood-soaked year.

Canadian military personnel first deployed to Afghanistan in late 2001, and over the next four years eight soldiers were killed—the first four in a friendly fire incident involving an American F-16. Overall casualties were remarkably light, considering the Canadians' extensive operations in eastern Afghanistan, primarily in Paktika Province.

In the spring of 2005 Defense Minister Bill Graham announced in Parliament that Canada would move its military operations into Kandahar province, the birthplace and heartland of the Taliban insurgency. The move south would drop Canadian forces into the Afghan equivalent of the Wild West and ultimately engage them in the First and Second Battles of Panjwai. Fought in the first half of September 2006, the latter marked NATO's most significant combat operation to date.

Gen. Rick Hillier, Chief of the Defense Staff, tapped the 1st Battalion, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (1 PPCLI), to form the core of Task Force Orion.

On August 3 the unit fought the largest engagement of its tour. Ground zero was a white schoolhouse in a compound named Bayanzi, on the north side of the Arghandab River opposite Panjwai. The “Princess Pats” lost four men killed and 11 wounded. Six days later 1 PPCLI was replaced by a battle group built around the 1st Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment (1 RCR), led by Lt. Col. Omer Lavoie. On August 22 a suicide bomber killed Corporal David Braun of 2 RCR. Such was the unit's introduction to Kandahar.

The RCR troops were mounted aboard LAV III infantry fighting vehicles. The eight-wheeled LAVs were fitted with a two-man turret, armed with the M242 Bushmaster 25 mm chain gun and a coaxial 7.62 mm machine gun, with a 5.56 mm machine gun atop the turret. The vehicle could transport up to seven infantrymen, and its three-man crew could offer substantial fire support once its passengers had dismounted. The troops also used the G-Wagon, for scouting and liaison duties, and could call on a battery of newly acquired M777 155 mm howitzers and a troop of LAV II Coyote reconnaissance vehicles.

The new battle group took time to assess the terrain and the Taliban, eventually settling on an operation, code-named Medusa, to commence on September 2. The principal responsibility fell on the RCR's Bravo and Charles companies. Charles would occupy Ma'sum Ghar, the high ground southwest of Panjwai, while Bravo moved into a blocking position a few miles north of the Arghandab, a dry wadi. American, NATO and Afghan forces would cover the eastern and western flanks. Charles would then push north to the banks of the Arghandab, but no farther. The wadi was the bomb line. The plan, Lt. Col. Lavoie later explained, was “to engage the enemy for the next three days with primarily offensive air support, as well as artillery and direct fire...



David Fraser



Members of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (above) first saw fighting in Bayanzi in 2006. Troops of the Royal Canadian Regiment soon replaced them.

before we actually committed the main force to the attack.” Then and only then, Charles would push north across the wadi into the heart of the Taliban fortifications. The operational plan was hardly revolutionary, but it maximized NATO assets and advantages.

Unfortunately, Operation Medusa fell apart, or more properly was dismantled, within hours. Derailed, then bedeviled by bad luck, it foretold of a coming train wreck.

As the Canadians dug in on Ma'sum Ghar on September 2, a horrific accident befell the British contingent. An RAF Hawker Siddeley Nimrod MR2 electronic reconnaissance plane monitoring the battle caught fire in flight and crashed 10 miles outside Kandahar, killing all 14 aboard. It was the worst single-day loss of life suffered by the British military since the 1982 Falklands War.

The next morning Charles Company moved down from Ma'sum Ghar into the hamlet of Panjwai, on the south bank of the Arghandab. The dam upriver had been destroyed, returning the river to its ancient rhythm of seasonal flooding and drying. While armored bulldozers started gouging out access lanes for the LAVs, Charles Company commander Maj. Matthew Sprague made a

quick transit of the floodplain. Across the wadi lay the hamlet of Bayanzi, a known Taliban strongpoint, centered on the schoolhouse where the Princess Pats had been bitten.

Returning to the forward company group at Ma'sum Ghar, Sprague was visited by his superior, Canadian Brig. Gen. David Fraser, commander of the Multinational

The G-wagon rotated several times before crashing back to earth in a tangle of wreckage

Brigade (MNB) for Regional Command South. At the same time the RCRs took over from the Princess Pats, the United States was handing off to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). It was a historic moment, the biggest show in NATO's history.

Fraser and Lavoie must have realized the reputation of the Canadian army was on the line. Medusa was a predominantly Canadian operation, overseen at the NATO



One Canadian provides cover as others advance. Top right: From a temporary observation post surrounded by marijuana plants, two soldiers watch for signs of impending attack. Above right: Troops pause while improving the defenses of a forward operating base.

level by yet another Canadian and waged on a battlefield the Canadians had fought over during their previous rotation. The pressure was on for fast and positive results.

Lavoie was shocked by the outcome of his parley with Fraser. The general ordered an immediate assault across the Arghandab into Bayanzi, targeting “Objective Rugby,”

‘We were taking fire from at least two sides, maybe three, with everything they had’

the white schoolhouse. Despite the fire plan, Fraser ordered Lavoie to push the security platoon across the wadi and have the men dig in, which they did. When Lavoie again objected to their exposure, Fraser promptly relented, ordering them back as night fell.

Then, in the middle of the night, Fraser abruptly ordered Lavoie to mount a full-blown assault at dawn. NATO’s overwhelming, indeed absolute, superiority in artillery and air assets would not be brought to bear as planned. Charles Company would have support during the assault, but those “three days with primarily offensive air support, as well as artillery and direct fire” had vanished. On the fly Fraser had dropped three days of preparation in favor of what was essentially a cavalry charge.

Just after 6 a.m. on September 3 the vanguard set out. Accompanying Charles’ 7 and 8 platoons were engineers, Afghan National Army soldiers and their American trainers, a tactical headquarters and a forward air controller. The group halted just after cresting the north bank of the wadi, taking up positions in a clearing bounded by fields of tall marijuana plants. There was no obvious activity in the buildings in front of them, but their senses were tingling. “Guys are looking at each other,” recalled Lt. Jeremy Hiltz, leading 8 Platoon. “There’s that feeling.”

Sprague, too, thought everything thus far had been too easy. He dispatched 8 Platoon, dismounted, to deal with a compound on the left flank, while the ANA moved north to watch the main road.



The crash of an RAF Nimrod supporting Medusa resulted in the worst single-day loss of life suffered by the British military since the 1982 Falklands War.

That left 7 Platoon to run straight up the middle toward the schoolhouse. Capt. Derek Wessan ordered his LAVs to shake out in battle line—from left, Bravo, Alpha and Charles (call sign 3-1), with his engineers in LAV Echo (3-2) on the right—followed by a G-Wagon (3-1W). Ordered to advance within 30 yards of the schoolhouse, they left the wadi and made their way through the marijuana field. Behind them Sprague, in LAV 3-9, pulled up atop the bank to watch the advance and add the punch of the vehicle's 25 mm chain gun if needed.

Bright bursts interrupted the growing dawn as the Canadians' artillery and air support commenced. Exerting surprising fire discipline, the Taliban waited until the LAVs halted in front of the schoolhouse before engaging. "The entire area just lit up," remembered Master Cpl. Allan Johnson, commanding 3-1 Alpha. "We were taking fire from at least two sides, maybe three, with everything they had." Sgt. Scott Fawcett, leaning out the rear sentry hatch of 3-1 Charlie, watched in amazement as an enemy round blew Echo 3-2's turret skyward, instantly killing Sgt. Shane Stachnik, wounding another crewman and apparently putting the engineer LAV out of commission.

Simultaneously, an RPG smashed into the front of the G-Wagon, spraying shrapnel over its occupants and killing the platoon's warrant officer, Rick Nolan. "Everything in the world came down on us," recalled medic Corporal Richard Furoy, who was seated behind Nolan, "and then, *whoomph*, the G-Wagon went black." Furoy and an Afghan interpreter beside him were severely wounded, but, remarkably, driver Corporal Sean Teal was only stunned.

Leaping out of 3-1 Charlie, Sgt. Fawcett grabbed Cpl. Jason Funnell and Pvt. Mike O'Rourke and ran toward the smoldering G-Wagon. Keeping low through the field, they could hear bullets crack overhead as marijuana tops rained down on them. Fawcett and Teal returned fire, while O'Rourke and Funnell rendered first aid and headed to the rear with the wounded.

Covering fire suddenly dropped off when 3-1 Bravo's chain gun jammed. Disregarding incoming enemy rounds,

Master Cpl. Sean Niefer hauled himself half out of the turret hatch to resume suppressing fire with his LAV's pintle-mounted machine gun.

Improbably, Echo 3-2 roared back to life. Sprague had launched a recovery mission to pull the vehicle out of the kill zone, and at the moment the tow chain was being hooked up, the stunned driver regained consciousness, threw the LAV into reverse and got out of Dodge. Efforts to recover the G-Wagon proved futile, so Sprague ordered it blown in place.

But first, Sgt. John Russell volunteered to lead 3-1 Bravo out to the G-Wagon to retrieve Nolan's body. There was no room for Teal and Fawcett, however, who were pinned down behind the shattered vehicle. They remained in the kill zone to cover Charles' extrication until out of ammunition, then raced back to the company position. While driving 3-1 Bravo back out of the ambush, Cpl. Jason Ruffolo missed the access lane and put the LAV into a deep irrigation ditch, immobilizing it. When towing efforts failed, the crew, many of them wounded, abandoned the vehicle and Nolan's body.

On the lip of the wadi, concealed if not sheltered by the tall plants, able-bodied men collected the wounded in the lee of one of the armored bulldozers. Hearing the firefight, a U.S. Army medic embedded with the Afghans soon arrived to assist. Tragically, the massive dozer took a direct hit from an enemy RPG, the resulting explosion killing Pvt. Will Cushley and severely wounding Warrant Officer Frank Mellish. Mellish lingered a few minutes but also died, despite Ruffolo's best efforts to stop the bleeding.

Given his diminishing options, Sprague ordered an 8 Platoon LAV to recover Nolan's body, and on that final sad note Charles Company retreated to lick its wounds.



Blending In

In 2002 Canadian troops in Afghanistan began receiving uniforms and body armor bearing the computer-generated CADPAT AR (Canadian Disruptive Pattern, Arid Regions) design for desert fighting. The U.S. Marine Corps' MARPAT camo is based on CADPAT.

Kandahar Kill Zone

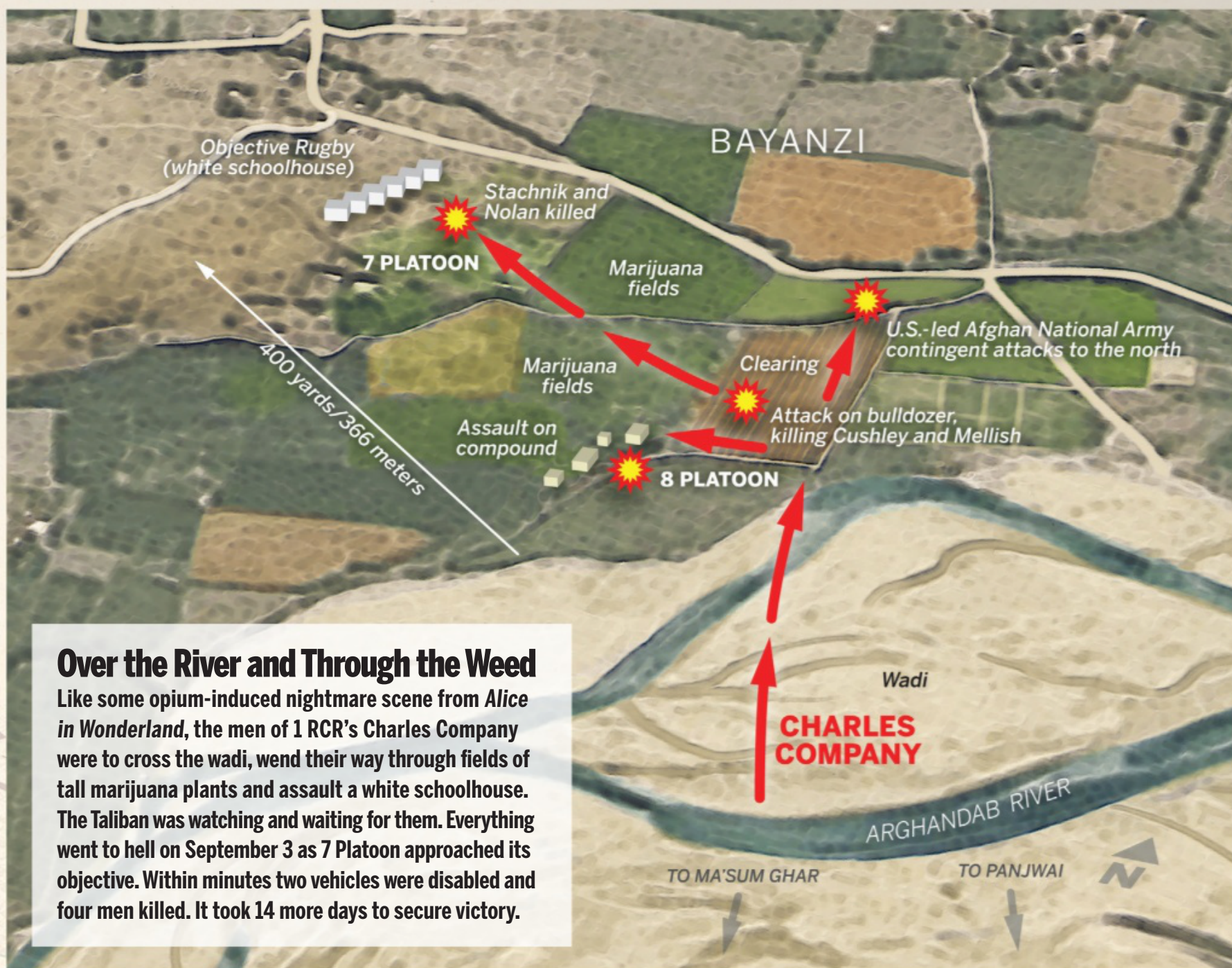
In fall 2006, after five years in country, the United States had handed off combat operations across Afghanistan to the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force. Operation Medusa (September 2–17) was to have been NATO's shining moment, its most significant combat operation to date. The laurels for any success would go largely to Canadian forces spearheading operations in Kandahar, the Taliban heartland in the south. Directing those forces in the Multinational Brigade for Regional Command South was Canadian Brig. Gen. David Fraser.

The plan called for Bravo and Charles companies of the 1st Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment (1 RCR), under Lt. Col. Omer Lavoie, to target the Taliban stronghold at Bayanzi, on the east bank of the Arghandab River opposite Panjwai. Bravo would pin the enemy in place from the northwest. After three days of bombardment by aircraft and artillery, Charles, led by Maj. Matthew Sprague, would cross the Arghandab, a dry wadi, in LAV III infantry fighting vehicles, with G-Wagons in a support capacity. Their target was an innocuous-looking schoolhouse that was anything but. **MH**



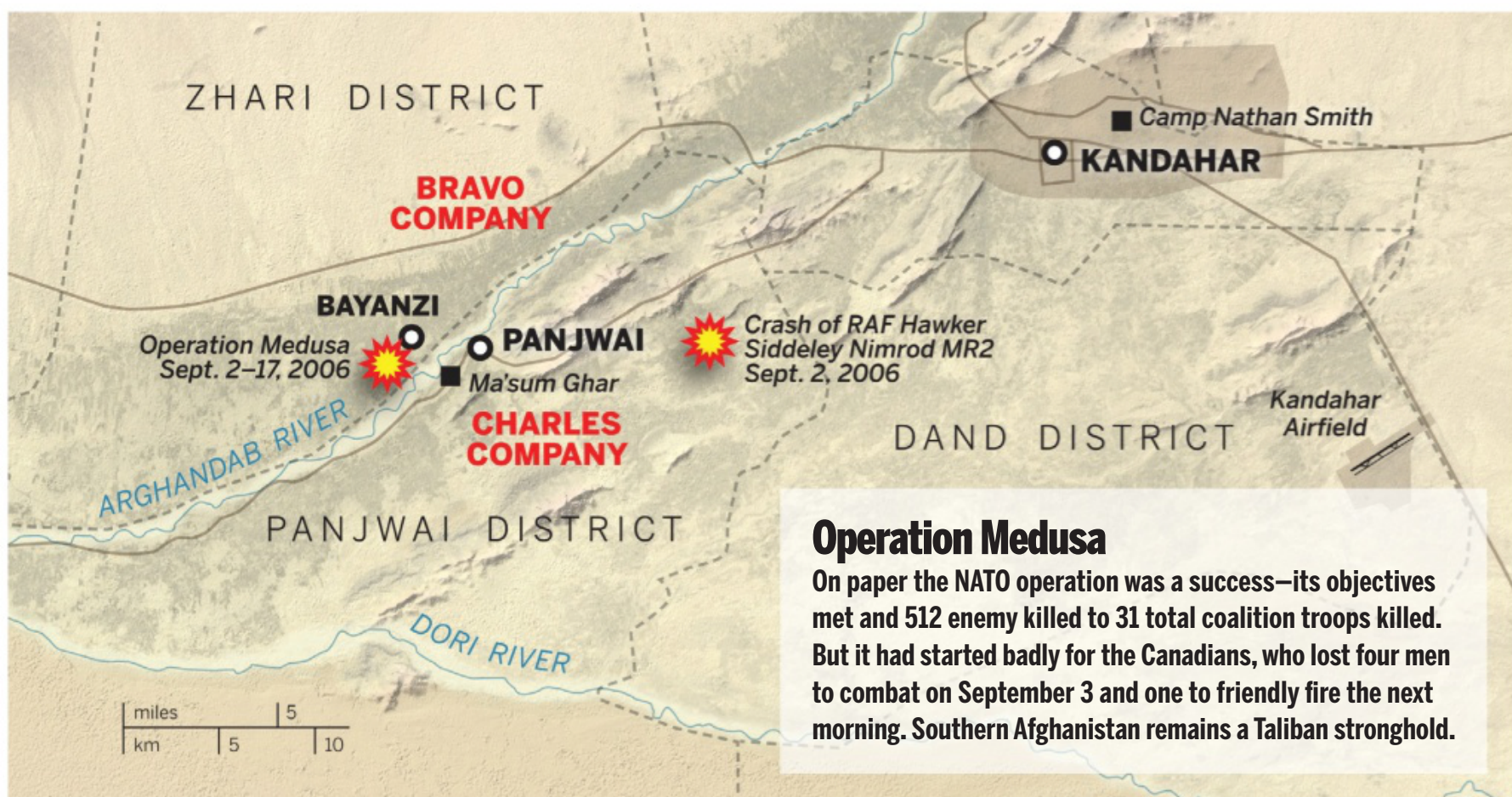
Taliban Heartland

The snake den targeted by Operation Medusa lay in Kandahar Province, namesake home to Afghanistan's second-largest city, which served as de facto capital of the Taliban till U.S.-led coalition forces drove them out in fall 2001. The insurgents regrouped across the border south and east in Pakistan.



Over the River and Through the Weed

Like some opium-induced nightmare scene from *Alice in Wonderland*, the men of 1 RCR's Charles Company were to cross the wadi, wend their way through fields of tall marijuana plants and assault a white schoolhouse. The Taliban was watching and waiting for them. Everything went to hell on September 3 as 7 Platoon approached its objective. Within minutes two vehicles were disabled and four men killed. It took 14 more days to secure victory.



Operation Medusa

On paper the NATO operation was a success—its objectives met and 512 enemy killed to 31 total coalition troops killed. But it had started badly for the Canadians, who lost four men to combat on September 3 and one to friendly fire the next morning. Southern Afghanistan remains a Taliban stronghold.



Canadian troops remain alert during a break in the action. Below: A suspected Taliban insurgent—one of more than 130 taken prisoner during Operation Medusa—awaits questioning.

A day after advancing off Ma'sum Ghar, the men were back at their start line.

Fate was not yet finished with the company, however. The next morning tragedy struck again as the men were cleaning their equipment, burning garbage and preparing to move out. A U.S. Air Force A-10 Thunderbolt II fighter-bomber pilot flying combat air support lost situational awareness and unleashed a Gatling burst at the troops gathered around the flames. "We heard the burp of the gun," Sgt. Brent Crellin recalled, "and then we felt sick." Former Olympic track and field athlete Pvt. Mark Anthony Graham was killed, while Sprague and more than 30 others were wounded. The tactical headquarters and 8 Platoon had been savaged. Charles Company was left leaderless, understrength and combat ineffective.

By September 6 the survivors of Charles Company were back on Ma'sum Ghar, partnered with a nearly company-sized unit of Royal Canadian Dragoons, an American rifle company and a tactical headquarters led by U.S. Army Col. Steve Williams. Together they formed Task Force Grizzly. Williams was ordered to push up to the wadi but no farther, in keeping with the original plan.

The main effort was to be made from the north. The September 6 assault by 1 RCR's Bravo Company was



ABOVE: CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE; BELOW: CANADIAN PRESS (ASSOCIATED PRESS)



Mark Anthony Graham



By the time Canada withdrew from Afghanistan in 2011, 158 of its military personnel had been killed.

facilitated by the U.S. 10th Mountain Division's Company A, 2nd Battalion, 4th Infantry Regiment, riding in Humvees. For four days the two units ground inexorably south. On September 11 Fraser ordered his forces on the south side of the Arghandab, including the remnants of Charles Company, to recross the wadi.

By that time the Taliban fighters had slipped the noose and were concentrating in Farah Province, far to the west. Operation Medusa limped on another six days, NATO forces spending most of their time clearing mines, IEDs and other booby traps. On Sunday, September 17, the operation was officially declared complete. Gen. David Richards, the British commander of NATO troops in Afghanistan, proclaimed Medusa a "significant success."

On paper only four Canadians had been killed by hostile fire, all on the first day. The friendly fire incident had claimed a fifth. Taliban casualties, on the other hand, were estimated by Fraser to have been upward of 1,000 over the 15 days of fighting. The enemy had been soundly beaten and forced to flee. More important, according to NATO, the Taliban had been denied an essential base, one that had allowed them to threaten Kandahar. Seamless victory was NATO's story—and it was sticking to it.

The Taliban begged to differ. The next day, in a response that might be described as thumbing one's nose, a suicide bomber on a bicycle in Panjwai rode up to a Canadian foot patrol and detonated his explosive vest, killing himself and four soldiers. Evidently, the Taliban were still kicking a day after having been "defeated."

In an interview with historian Col. Bernd Horn a month after Medusa, Fraser had the audacity to subtly praise his own combat sense. "It's a feeling in battle," he said, "when you got the enemy. It's something you cannot teach—you just got to know when to push." Members of Charles Company might very well wonder why that sixth

Operation Medusa

2,000

NATO TROOPS

31

KILLED
INCLUDING ALL NATIONS

1,200+

TALIBAN TROOPS

512

KILLED
136 CAPTURED

sense had deserted him on September 3 when he'd suspended a planned preliminary bombardment and ordered them forward. That was Fraser's first mistake. His second was sending that same fractured and disrupted company back into the fray on September 6, despite its having endured a horrifying friendly fire incident.

A dozen years after the battle Fraser's opinion of himself has only grown. In 2018 he published a memoir titled *Operation Medusa*. The subtitle—*The Furious Battle That Saved Afghanistan From the Taliban*—speaks volumes. It is also wildly inaccurate. The day after Canadian commanders declared the enemy vanquished, the Taliban killed four infantrymen. Another three would die in Panjwai before year's end.

Even as Fraser released his memoir, the Canadian news magazine *Macleans* underscored the impermanence of his victory:

The idyllic orchards and farm fields along the Arghandab River—which should have been teeming with laborers—instead provided cover for Taliban snipers.... Canadian soldiers continued to die in ambushes and suicide attacks. Convoys and foot patrols regularly struck roadside bombs that were planted overnight by local Taliban fighters. The death toll continued to climb, and by the time the Canadians left in 2011, it had reached 158. MH

Bob Gordon is a Canada-based historian whose work has been published in that nation, Britain and the United States. For further reading he recommends Canadian Forces in Afghanistan, by Colonel Bernd Horn and Emily Spencer, and Witness to War, by Adam Day.

Tactical Takeaways

Fire Plans Count

The decision to cancel preparatory air and artillery strikes turned the Canadian assault on Bayanzi into an ill-fated cavalry charge.

If in Doubt, Pull Out

Outgunned in their fight for Bayanzi and with two vehicles destroyed, the men of 7 Platoon withdrew.

'Friendly Fire' Isn't

Having survived the initial assault on Bayanzi, Charles Company was ravaged by a USAF A-10 whose pilot—having failed to ID his target—killed one Canadian and wounded some 30.



THE KINGS AND I

In 1578 English adventurer Thomas Stukeley found himself embroiled in a Moroccan military intrigue with royal overtones and lethal results
By Murray Dahm





A 16th-century tapestry depicts the 1471 Portuguese conquest of Asilah, Morocco, the port to which Sebastian and his fleet sailed before the 1578 Battle of Alcázar.

By midafternoon on Aug. 4, 1578, three monarchs lay dead on a battlefield near the Moroccan town of Ksar el-Kebir. Two of the royals were Muslim, the third Christian, and the consequences of their deaths would resonate throughout Europe and North Africa for decades. At the heart of the regicidal misadventure was a theretofore irksome English opportunist who left his own legacy.

Best known in the English-speaking world as the Battle of Alcazar, the fight at Ksar el-Kebir is for obvious reasons also referred to as the Battle of the Three Kings.

The Christian monarch, Portugal's King Sebastian I, was supporting deposed Moroccan Sultan Moulay Mohammed (Abu Abdallah Mohammed II), who had been ousted by his uncle, Abdelmalek (Abu Marwan Abd al-Malik). A son of Mohammed ash-Sheikh, founder of Morocco's Saadi dynasty, Abdelmalek himself had fled to the Otto-

the throne. The tribal country erupted in civil war. Supported by an Ottoman army, Abdelmalek invaded in 1576, forcing Moulay Mohammed to flee the capital, Marrakesh, and wage a guerrilla war against his uncle. It was then the sultan in exile sought Sebastian's help in restoring him to the throne.

The Portuguese king, a dashing and childless 24-year-old with visions of a Moroccan crusade and outmoded ideals of chivalric kingship and feudal warfare, resolved to help Moulay Mohammed by raising an army and invading the Barbary realm. Especially eager to restore his nation's fading martial glory, Sebastian chose to lead the expedition personally, despite having no prior combat or command experience.

Among those who chose to accompany the young king to North Africa was an English soldier of fortune named Thomas Stukeley (born circa 1520). Rumored to be a bastard son of King Henry VIII, Stukeley had been involved in all sorts of foreign escapades both for and against the Crown since the 1547–53 reign of Edward VI. Though engaged as a spy, pirate, mercenary, counterfeiter and all-round scoundrel since the early 1550s, he had always managed to escape any serious consequences for his shenanigans, while his confederates often met with execution. Stukeley's repeated escapes from harm led many to suspect he may have had a claim on the English throne—a belief he fostered.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth I in 1558, Stukeley continued to be a thorn in the side of the Crown, and in 1570 the reckless adventurer fled England for the Continent. There he became implicated in various schemes for Spanish-led invasions of England and Ireland, working with Spanish King Philip II and Popes Pius V and Gregory XIII. With the latter's financial and materiel help, Stukeley set sail from Italy on Feb. 2, 1578, on a ship laden with arms, ammunition, supplies and provisions enough for 3,000 men. Also aboard were 600 Italian mercenaries. They were to join waiting Irish rebels in Spain for the long-planned invasion of Ireland. Fate put that plan on hold, however.

The ship was in very poor repair, taking more than two months to cover a distance that should have taken two weeks, and the provisions aboard were not enough for 600, let alone 3,000. By the time Stukeley's ship anchored off Cadiz in mid-April, the Italians were on the verge of mutiny. While in port a messenger from shore brought a welcome missive to the beleaguered commander. In the letter Philip proposed Stukeley continue to Lisbon and join his forces with those Sebastian was gathering for the invasion of Morocco. The Englishman

By the time Stukeley's ship anchored off Cadiz, the Italians were on the verge of mutiny

man empire with his younger brothers in 1557 when their eldest brother, Abdallah al-Ghalib, became sultan and sought to eliminate them. Though Abdelmalek was the legitimate successor, on Abdallah al-Ghalib's 1574 death from asthma his son Moulay Mohammed claimed



Pope Gregory XIII (at left) and Philip II of Spain encouraged Stukeley (kneeling) to join Sebastian I's Moroccan campaign.

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Sebastian I



jumped at the chance—the pope, pardon the expression, be damned.

Stukeley's snap decision to veer from the “divine” purpose of restoring Ireland to the Catholic fold rankled Gregory. When providing men and materiel for the invasion, the pope had instructed Stukeley to “do all the mischief that they may to that wicked woman”—a reference to the heretical Queen Elizabeth. Yet by summer Sebastian's noble crusade had received Gregory's blessing, both the papal nuncio and legate joining the royal train. And while Philip had remained on the sidelines when pressed by Gregory to help fund the invasion of Ireland, the Spanish king supported the Moroccan adventure, albeit with some trepidation over its trade implications, not to mention his nephew Sebastian's rash nature.

Waving aside his uncle's fears and committing his vast treasury to the campaign, Sebastian cobbled together a 17,000-man invasion force comprising some 9,000 raw peasant levies, 1,500 *Aventuros* (Portuguese noble volunteers who paid their own way), 1,000 cavalymen (recruited from the noble ranks), 5,500 foreign mercenaries (Germans, Walloons, Spaniards and Stukeley's Italians) and an artillery component. Such a multinational force inherently lacked cohesion. Stukeley's Italians, resentful at having been “hijacked” under a foreign prince and forced by necessity to forage for provisions, proved especially unruly. While available firearms included three dozen cannons and some 7,000 muskets, most of the conscripts were

armed with pikes, an outmoded weapon for use in formation that required significant training. But the Portuguese king was in a hurry. To his credit Sebastian held old-fashioned knightly ideals of leading from the front and exceeding his men in valor. But his lack of experience and headstrong refusal to accept advice would lead to disaster.

The 500-ship invasion fleet sailed from the Tagus River off Lisbon on June 24 and landed at Asilah, on Morocco's Atlantic coast, on July 14. The amateur nature of the Portuguese force was apparent from the start. Despite being in hostile territory, they erected no defensive perimeter, instead bivouacking in the open. Drills were sporadic to nonexistent. Furthermore, no one seemed to know his role, thus the men were prone to panic at the slightest disturbance.

The arrival of the invasion force prompted Abdelmalek to negotiate—a generous tract of coastal land in exchange for peace—but the king rebuffed the proposal. Feeling his oats, Sebastian then abandoned plans to march down the coast with the fleet in support. Convening a war council on June 23, he announced his intention to instead to strike inland for a rapid and decisive victory. Heedless of the dangers—e.g., abandoning the fleet,



King's Helm

When Sebastian I rode to his death in battle at Alcazar he reportedly wore this visored close helm. In the collection of Austrian-born Portuguese scholar Rainer Daehnhardt, the helmet bears distinctive impact marks thought to have been made by scimitars wielded by Abdelmalek's Moroccan cavalymen.

Elizabeth I



Philip II



supply problems, inhospitable terrain—Sebastian refused to hear any advice from subordinates. Regardless, Stukeley and two other combat-experienced officers confronted the king, advising him to forgo any such hasty march against an unknown enemy force. Sebastian shut them down using “injurious terms.”

The army left camp on July 29 accompanied by thousands of camp followers—clerics, pages, prostitutes, musicians, servants, slaves and serving women, even wives and children—said to number as many as the fighting men. Some 1,100 wagons carried the nobles’ baggage, which included such “essentials” as ceremonial vestments,

The battle lasted just six hours and was a fiasco for the Portuguese from start to finish

pavilions, sumptuous furniture and silver place settings and platters. Such processions had been commonplace on campaign in prior centuries, but war had become a far more serious and professional business by the 1570s. Despite their extensive baggage train, the Portuguese marched out short of water and food from the outset. En route to meet the enemy south at Ksar el-Kebir, they were shadowed by Moroccan light cavalry. It took Sebastian’s

motley band six days to march those 33 miles. Abdelmalek knew where the invaders were the entire time.

During a war council on the night of August 3 Moulay Mohammed—who had added another 6,000 men to Sebastian’s army—advised the Portuguese king to delay his attack until late the following day, as spies had informed him Abdelmalek was seriously ill (perhaps poisoned) and might not live out the day. Were he to die, the enemy would be thrown into confusion, increasing the odds of a successful outcome. Stukeley seconded Moulay Mohammed’s advice but was again silenced by the king, who all but accused the Englishman of cowardice. Again Sebastian refused all counsel and ordered the attack to commence at first light. He selected the route of the Portuguese advance solely because it offered the opportunity for “beautiful cavalry charges and high feats of arms.” In a final folly he chose to attach his baggage train to the army in a large open square formation. By doing so, the king would squander many of his pikemen to protect little more than gilded carriages and silver baubles.

Stukeley and his Italians, along with the Spanish, would comprise the left wing of the infantry, the Germans and Walloons the right, with the peasant levies massed behind both wings. Likely out of mistrust, Stukeley split the Italians into small detachments sandwiched between Spanish contingents. The cavalry, led by Sebastian on the left and his Portuguese officers on the right, backed by Moulay Mohammed’s horsemen, pro-



William Cecil



Pope Gregory XIII

tected the flanks of the square. Bringing up the rear were the musketeers.

Opposing Sebastian's 23,000 march-weary troops were upward of 60,000 men in three long ranks under Abdelmalek, who had also deployed his cavalry on the wings. He, too, fielded cannons, and his arquebusiers outnumbered Sebastian's musketeers.

As Sebastian wished, the Battle of Alcazar began at first light on August 4. It lasted just six hours and was a fiasco for the Portuguese almost from start to finish.

After drawing up in their respective formations and exchanging battle cries and largely ineffectual artillery and musketry volleys, the opposing infantry lines marched out and were soon engaged in savage hand-to-hand combat. With Sebastian leading from the front, the Portuguese cavalry charged into the enemy lines, opening large gaps, but they lacked the resources and reserves to exploit their gains. As Moorish reserves came forward to fill the gaps, Abdelmalek's cavalry—outnumbering Sebastian's by perhaps 10-to-1—chased the Portuguese riders back to their lines and soon decimated them. Numbers told the tale from then on, as the Muslims enveloped Sebastian's square and cut down his army. Portuguese losses were estimated at more than 8,000 dead and 15,000 captured—all destined for slavery or ransom. Survivors who made it back to the fleet at Asilah numbered in the dozens. Moorish losses numbered some 4,000 dead. Among the heaped

corpses lay those of the childless King Sebastian (who had fought courageously per his chivalric precepts and fallen late in the action), the ousted Sultan Moulay Mohammed (said to have drowned while attempting to flee across a river), the usurper Sultan Abdelmalek (who was indeed gravely ill and did not live out the day) and the adventurer Stukeley.

Two traditions circulate regarding the latter's death. One suggests he was killed early in the fighting when a Moroccan cannonball carried off his legs. The other claims he was murdered by his own Italians once it was clear defeat was imminent. The latter tradition was given life in two popular plays—English dramatist George Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (published circa 1594) and the anonymous *The Famous History of the Life and Death of Captain Thomas Stukeley* (published circa 1600).

At first glance Stukeley's death bears little significance. After all, the battle had claimed three monarchs, along with 40 dukes and earls (according to Richard Johnson's 1612 ballad "The Life and Death of the Famous Thomas Stukeley"). Perhaps the greatest consequence was that the Portuguese throne, left without an heir, fell to Philip II of Spain within two years, and Portugal remained a puppet



Arquebusier

Developed during the 15th century, the arquebus used a matchlock mechanism and crossbowlike trigger to fire lead balls. The soldiers who bore the weapons were called arquebusiers. Mounted and dismounted troops on both sides of the field at Alcazar used the weapon.



Top: A romanticized 18th-century image depicts Sebastian's imminent death at Alcazar. **Above:** The young king, astride a white charger, leads his forces against the waiting Moroccan ranks—which he reportedly did.

of the Hapsburg kings until 1640. In addition, as Sebastian had emptied the Portuguese coffers for his campaign, he'd left the country "naked of nobility, without heirs," as one contemporary historian put it. It was Stukeley's presence and death at Alcazar, however, that had lasting resonance in England, its implications no less complex than European court politics of the era.

In the context of the broader Moroccan saga Stukeley's diversion to the invasion by Sebastian via Philip appears a rather unsurprising side note, one wholly in keeping with Stukeley's expedient habit of shifting loyalties whenever it suited his own purposes. Yet his role in what marked his final adventure had greater underlying significance.

In her history *Speaking of the Moor* Rutgers University English professor Emily C. Bartels writes of the importance of trade with Morocco, notably in sugar but also saltpeter, an essential ingredient in gunpowder. In 1577 a trade mission from England had secured just that commodity from Abdelmalek. English merchants, agents and other representatives were present in Morocco at the time of the Battle of Alcazar, and Stukeley's presence could only have undermined the Crown's interests and activities. Concerned Italian and Portuguese merchants cataloged Stukeley's actions, reporting back to William Cecil, Baron Burghley, Queen Elizabeth's spymaster. Cecil and Stukeley had encountered each other early in the latter's career, and Stukeley seems to have bested Cecil on that occasion—a slight the spymaster never forgot.

In trading arms and ammunition with Morocco in exchange for sugar and saltpeter, Elizabeth sought to undermine Spain, ruled by her hated Catholic onetime brother-in-law, Philip. The Protestant queen, whom Pius V had declared "the pretended Queen of England and the servant of crime" when excommunicating her in 1570, openly ignored the papal ban on providing weapons to the "infidel." Indeed, she had opened trade negotiations with both Moulay Mohammed and Abdelmalek, and in the wake of Alcazar she resumed negotiations with Ahmad al-Mansur, Abdelmalek's brother and sultan of the Saadi dynasty until his death in 1603. The negotiations were shrouded in secrecy, extant state papers only alluding to them. Contact between the two countries wavered in the immediate aftermath of Alcazar, but by the time Peele's play went into production, al-Mansur had sent ambassadors to England to cement an economic and political alliance.

Stukeley's interference in Morocco, therefore, posed a diplomatic problem for England, jeopardizing a delicate, budding trade relationship. Recall that Pope Gregory had instructed the adventurer to "do mischief" to Elizabeth, and perhaps he was doing just that. The ongoing importance of the Anglo-Moroccan trade alliance may go some way to explain why Stukeley remained a featured figure in English drama into the 17th century. Though portray-



Battle of Alcazar

60,000+

MOROCCAN EMPIRE

4,000

DEAD

23,000

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

INCLUDING 9,000 PEASANT
LEVIES, 2,500 NOBLE
VOLUNTEERS AND RECRUITS,
5,500 FOREIGN MERCENARIES
AND 6,000 ALLIED MOORS

8,000

DEAD

15,000 CAPTURED

ing him in largely heroic terms, the works also reminded contemporary audiences of Stukeley's reckless nature and his vulnerability to manipulation through flattery.

Take, for example, Philip II, who cajoled Stukeley into joining Sebastian, thus using the English adventurer as a pawn in the Spanish king's own plan to lash out at Elizabeth. It is a recurring theme throughout Stukeley's career. Believing himself to be an integral cog at the highest levels of European government, he was in fact little more than a useful if dispensable tool, wielded by monarchs and their ministers in whatever schemes they had going at the moment. Though most visibly in the employ of the English and Spanish crowns, he'd also

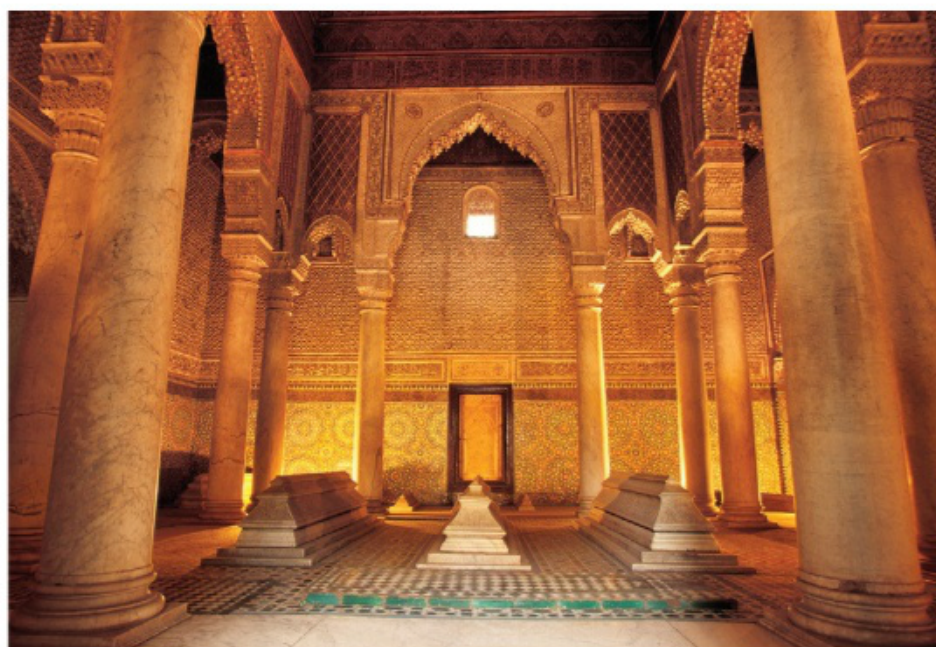
been engaged by two popes, Sebastian of Portugal, King Henry II of France, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, Mary of Hungary, John of Austria and Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy. While he had entwined himself firmly in the Catholic cause in later life—a commitment he went to great lengths to prove—he'd apparently had no qualms about being a Protestant partisan earlier in his career. Stukeley was the epitome of the ambitious, upwardly mobile, pragmatic adventurer.

The Battle of Alcazar lays bare the intricacies of Christian European intervention in Muslim politics in the 16th century, as well as the importance of Barbary trade with regard to power struggles on the Continent. Its

Portuguese nobles gaze forlornly at Sebastian's body in an 1888 painting by Caetano Moreira da Costa Lima. Below: The Saadian Tombs in Marrakesh, Morocco, house the remains of 60-plus members of the dynasty to which Moulay Mohammed and Abdelmalek belonged.

military outcome highlights the folly of rejecting advice from one's more experienced peers. Finally, as the dramatists of old realized, the underlying story of Thomas Stukeley offers a remarkable, entertaining and cautionary glimpse into the life (and death) of a mercenary captain, adventurer and schemer of the first order. **MH**

New Zealander Murray Dahm is an Australia-based historian specializing in ancient and medieval topics. For further reading he recommends Roads to Ruin: The War for Morocco in the 16th Century, by Comer Plummer III, and Speaking of the Moor, by Emily C. Bartels.



SANCT

How an Irish monsignor used his Vatican office
to defy fascist authorities in wartime Rome

By Norm Goldstein

QUARRY!



Born in 1898, Irishman Hugh O'Flaherty became a Roman Catholic priest and by the 1939 outbreak of World War II held a key post in the Vatican hierarchy.



The arrival of German forces in Rome following Benito Mussolini's 1943 fall from power made the work of O'Flaherty and his escape line cohorts vastly more difficult and infinitely more dangerous.

Those he passed paid scant attention to the man bicycling across St. Peter's Square that early October day in Rome in 1942. Dressed in workman's overalls, he rode straight through the gates of Vatican City, circled the fountains and pedaled past the gardens, seemingly unseen by the Swiss Guards. Not until he approached St. Martha's House, a conclave for clerics, diplomats and pilgrims, was he finally stopped and questioned by Vatican policeman Anton Call.

The cyclist, a British sailor named Albert Penny, admitted to the *carabiniere* he had recently escaped from a prisoner of war camp in Viterbo, some 40 miles northwest of Rome. Instead of turning over Penny to counterparts in the Italian police, however, Call alerted Sir D'Arcy Osborne, British envoy and minister plenipotentiary to the Vatican. Osborne in turn petitioned Vatican authorities to allow the POW to remain within their walls, noting the papal state's neutral status in the war then ravaging Europe.

Authorities granted permission, and Penny lived in Osborne's apartment at St. Martha's until formally exchanged for an Italian prisoner. The British seaman was the first of thousands in Italy to receive aid from what became known as the Rome Escape Line. Many such networks operated throughout Europe during World War II, but this one had the distinction of being run by a Vatican priest, an Irishman named Hugh O'Flaherty.

By war's end O'Flaherty's organization had saved an estimated 6,500 at-risk people, including escaped POWs, downed airmen, refugees, Jews and others. Those saved hailed from Britain, South Africa, Russia, Greece, the United States and more than 20 other countries. Almost all the civilians were Italians, many of them Jewish.

Perhaps most remarkable is that Nazi officials knew exactly what was going on. They just couldn't catch Monsignor O'Flaherty in the act.

Hugh O'Flaherty was born in County Cork, Ireland, on Feb. 28, 1898, and grew up in Killarney, County Kerry, where his father was steward of the Killarney Golf Club. Young O'Flaherty pursued academics, eventually joined the priesthood and was posted to Rome in 1922, the year Benito Mussolini rose to power in Italy.

After his 1925 ordination O'Flaherty served as a Vatican diplomat in Egypt, Haiti, Santo Domingo (the present-day Dominican Republic) and Czechoslovakia before being recalled to Rome and appointed to the Vatican's Holy

Office. Named papal chamberlain in 1934, the Very Rev. Monsignor O'Flaherty became a familiar figure in Rome, appearing daily on the steps of St. Peter's Basilica to read his breviary. The 6-foot-2 cleric was conspicuous in his black cassock and scarlet sash, and people were drawn to his Irish brogue, magnetic personality, ready smile and lively eyes set behind steel-rimmed glasses.

At the outset of the war, when Mussolini linked Italy to Germany as an Axis partner, O'Flaherty was assisting apostolic nuncio Monsignor Francesco Borgongini Duca,



whom Pope Pius XII had tasked with checking on the welfare of inmates at POW camps. O'Flaherty assumed his new role with enthusiasm and compassion, and word soon got around about his discreet efforts to offer sanctuary and other aid. Those knowing of his "avocation" routinely approached the monsignor on the steps of St. Peter's to tell him of escaped prisoners needing secure hiding places. O'Flaherty helped any and all who found their way to the Vatican, arranging to provide them with safe houses, food, clothing and, at times, even forged documents.

Having served in Rome for so many years, O'Flaherty had built a network of contacts in high society who could provide sanctuary. In a sense Vatican City was a "safe house" unto itself. Under the 1929 Lateran Treaty, Italy had recognized the papal dominion as a sovereign state. The pact covered not only the 110 acres encompassing St. Peter's, the Sistine Chapel, the extensive gardens, clerical housing and administrative offices, but also 50 acres outside the city walls, and it granted protected status to numerous "extraterritorial" buildings in Rome.

By late 1943 the Rome Escape Line had provided sanctuary to some 2,000 people in private homes, religious sites, colleges and other buildings throughout the Italian capital, as well as on outlying farms. Among the earliest hideouts was an apartment that backed up on the local SS headquarters. "Faith," O'Flaherty reasoned, "they'll never think of looking under their noses."

Heading up the escape line was a "Council of Three"—O'Flaherty (code name "Golf"); Osborne ("Mount"), who provided the lion's share of the funding, with money channeled from the British Foreign Office and a loan from the Vatican bank; and John May ("Giovanni"), Osborne's butler, whom O'Flaherty once described as the "most magnificent scrounger I have ever come across." Aiding the trio in their efforts were clergymen, sympathetic nobles and various friends of the Vatican, including a

Left: Adolf Hitler initially sought to curry favor with the Roman Catholic Church but later persecuted priests, nuns and lay leaders. Top: German and Italian troops round up civilians. Above left: Wartime Pope Pius XII. Above right: Cardinal Pietro Gasparri and Prime Minister Mussolini sign the 1929 Lateran Treaty, establishing the Vatican as a city-state.

Swiss count, the wife of the Irish ambassador and Maltese widow Chetta Chevalier, who housed scores of escapees even while caring for her own children and elderly mother. Many of the monsignor's fellow Irish clergy—priests and nuns alike—served as messengers.

In 1943 the council hired on British escapee Maj. Sam Derry, who later noted "the strangeness of this organization, in which soldiers and priests, diplomats and com-

O'Flaherty had built a network of contacts in high society who could provide sanctuary

munists, noblemen and humble working folk were all operating in concord with a single aim, yet without any clearly defined pyramid of authority." Derry ultimately became the escape line's chief organizer.

When the Italian government stripped Mussolini of power in July 1943, the Germans rolled into Rome in force to keep a lid on the city and its people. One of the primary authorities tasked with enforcing Nazi control was Gestapo chief Herbert Kappler.

Born in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1907, Kappler had been a Nazi Party member since age 23. In 1943 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and named head of all Nazi SS and police units in Rome. Kappler was equally com-



Following a March 23, 1944, Italian resistance ambush that killed nearly three dozen SS policemen, O'Flaherty's archnemesis, Rome Gestapo chief Herbert Kappler, directed the mass execution of 335 Italian prisoners.

mitted to rounding up Jews for deportation and hunting down those Allied personnel who had escaped from Italian POW camps after the nation's army surrendered. Well aware of O'Flaherty's activities, he was determined to get the priest, dead or alive.

Kappler offered a 30,000-lire bounty for information leading to O'Flaherty's capture. But he could not arrest him inside Vatican City. In the meantime, the colonel

had soldiers paint a white boundary line around the papal state, implicitly warning O'Flaherty of dire consequences should he stray outside. Ernst von Weizsäcker, German ambassador to the Vatican, overtly cautioned the monsignor. "If you ever step outside Vatican territory again, on whatever pretext," he told O'Flaherty, "you will be arrested at once." For his part, Pietro Koch, head of the fascist police in Rome, threatened to torture and execute the priest, if given the opportunity.

Kappler fomented several plots to kidnap or kill O'Flaherty, including one in which a pair of plainclothes SS henchmen planned to attend Mass, then manhandle the priest across the boundary line, where O'Flaherty was to be "shot while attempting to escape." May got wind of the latter

scheme and suggested the priest refrain from emerging on the steps of St. Peter's and lie low a while. "What, me boy," O'Flaherty replied, "and let them think I am afraid? So long as they don't use guns, I can tackle any two or three of them with ease, though a scrap would be a bit undignified on the very steps of St. Peter's itself, would

it not?" With the help of friendly Yugoslav partisans, May waylaid the would-be kidnappers beforehand.

No matter the threat, O'Flaherty disregarded his own safety. "The monsignor," Osborne once observed, "simply accepts at face value everyone who asks him for assistance and immediately gives all help he can, whatever the risk. I worry about him sometimes, but there seems to be no way of convincing him that his own life is well worth preserving."

Despite German vigilance, O'Flaherty continued his work, often walking the streets of Rome in disguise, one day as a street cleaner, the next as a postman. Compatriots took to calling him the "Pimpernel of the Vatican," after the fictional "scarlet" hero of the French Reign of Terror who slipped through the streets of Paris in disguise to rescue aristocrats sentenced to the guillotine. The monsignor sometimes met personally with escapees, taking along spare clerical robes with which to disguise them for entry into the Vatican.

One day as O'Flaherty arrived at the Roman estate of Prince Filippo Andrea Doria Pamphili—one of the nobles who helped with funding—waiting Gestapo agents recognized the priest and alerted Kappler, who soon rolled up outside the Palazzo Doria with a large force. The prince's wary secretary alerted O'Flaherty, who dashed down to the basement, where coalmen were busy making a delivery. One agreed to help, remaining in the cellar while the disguised monsignor walked out to the delivery truck. After smudging his face in coal dust and tossing his clerical clothes into a coal sack, O'Flaherty coolly strolled right past the Gestapo.

After taking the backstreets home to the Vatican, the priest phoned the prince.

"Are you well, me boy?" he asked.

"Fine now," came the reply. "Someday you must tell me how you did it. I am afraid Colonel Kappler is a very angry man. He spent two hours here, and he did say that



Sam Derry

British Maj. Sam Derry was twice captured by the Germans, and twice he escaped. In 1943 he approached the Vatican for help in aiding POWs secreted among the hills following fascist Italy's collapse. He ultimately became the Rome Escape Line's chief organizer.

if I happened to see you, I was to say that one of these days he will be entertaining you.”

On March 23, 1944, in the wake of the Allied landings at Anzio, the emboldened Italian resistance ambushed an SS police regiment with an improvised explosive device, killing nearly three dozen policemen. In reprisal Kappler was ordered to execute 10 Roman citizens for every German soldier killed. The next day, under his direction, an SS death squad carried out the order, executing 335 Italian prisoners in the tunnels of disused quarries at Ardea, some 25 miles south of Rome. German engineers then sealed the caves with explosives.

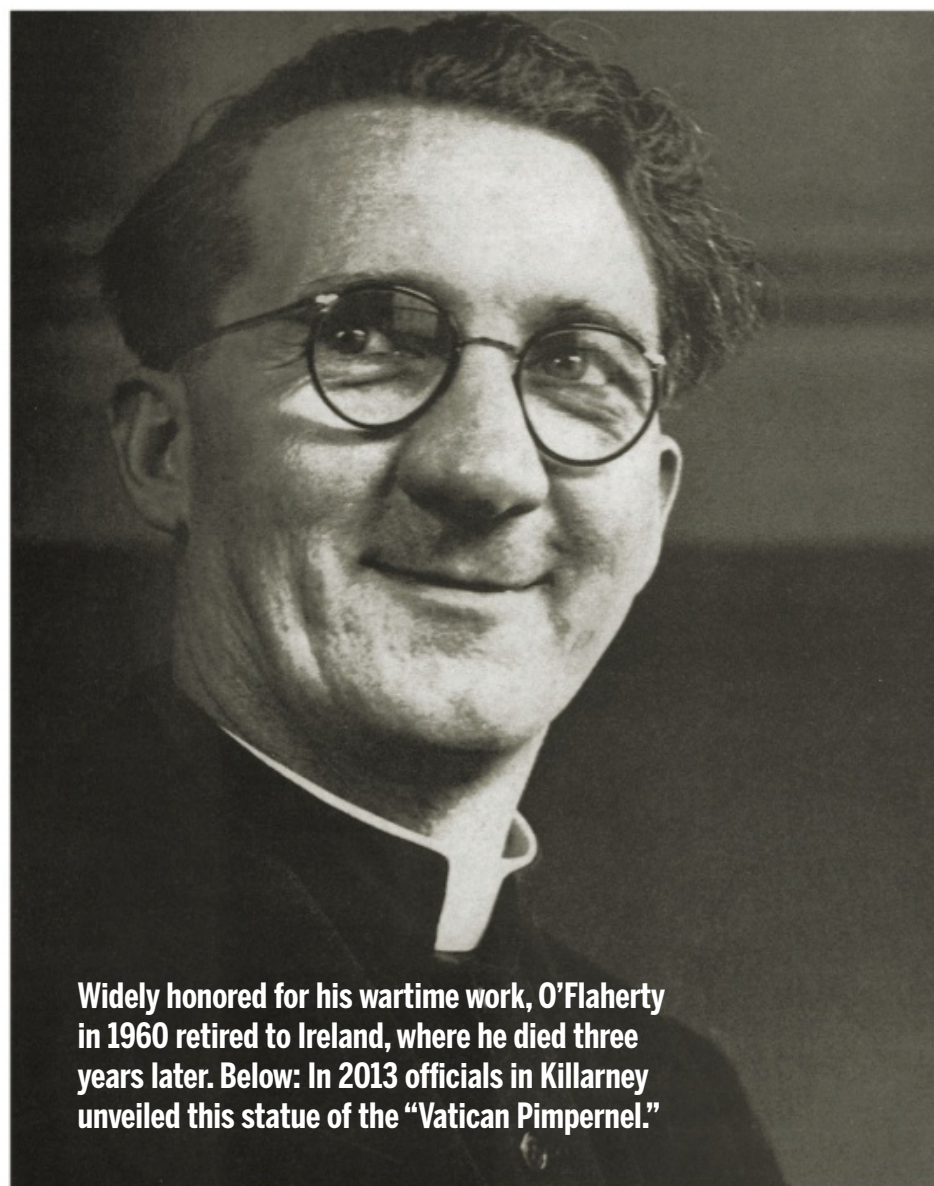
Neither the continued threats nor such atrocities deterred O’Flaherty or his escape line cohorts. By spring 1944 they were housing some 3,500 people in various sites across Rome, and by war’s end the total number of people saved had soared to 6,500.

After the war an Italian military tribunal convicted Kappler for his role in the Ardeatine massacre, sentencing him to life imprisonment at the Aragonese-Angevine fortress in Gaeta. Ever the intercessor, O’Flaherty exchanged letters with his Nazi nemesis during the latter’s imprisonment and regularly visited Kappler to discuss religion and literature. In 1959 the priest helped the German inmate fulfill his requested conversion to Catholicism.

Kappler’s wife divorced him after he entered prison. He later engaged in a lengthy correspondence with German nurse Anneliese Walther, marrying her in a prison ceremony at Gaeta in 1972. Three years later the 68-year-old inmate, having been diagnosed with terminal cancer, was moved to a military hospital in Rome. Due to her husband’s deteriorating health, Anneliese Kappler was granted virtually unrestricted access to his room, ostensibly to nurse him. While visiting her cancer-ridden spouse in August 1977, she smuggled him out to her car in a large suitcase and drove him back to West Germany. Given his condition, authorities refused to extradite Kappler. He died at home in Soltau on Feb. 9, 1978.

Having suffered a stroke in 1960, O’Flaherty had returned to Ireland to lead a quiet life, highlighted by golf outings and expressions of gratitude from some of the 6,500 people he had saved. The Allies honored him with many civilian awards, including appointment to Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (CBE) and the U.S. Medal of Freedom with silver palm.

Hugh O’Flaherty died on Oct. 30, 1963, and is buried in Cahersiveen, County Kerry, where he lived out his life in the care of his sister, Bridie Sheehan. Twenty years later Gregory Peck portrayed the monsignor in the made-for-TV war drama *The Scarlet and the Black*, with Christopher Plummer as Kappler. In 2013, on the 50th anniversary of O’Flaherty’s death, Killarney officials unveiled a memorial [hughoflaherty.com] in recognition of their hometown hero’s achievements. Mounted in front of plaques



Widely honored for his wartime work, O’Flaherty in 1960 retired to Ireland, where he died three years later. Below: In 2013 officials in Killarney unveiled this statue of the “Vatican Pimpernel.”



that recount his wartime exploits, the life-sized bronze statue of the Pimpernel of the Vatican stands in midstride just outside Killarney National Park. **MH**

New York-based Norm Goldstein is a regular contributor to Military History. For further reading he recommends *The Rome Escape Line*, by Sam Derry; *The Vatican Pimpernel*, by Brian Fleming; and *Hide & Seek: The Irish Priest in the Vatican Who Defied the Nazi Command*, by Stephen Walker.

FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY

After prevailing against British troops on the shores of Lake George, French Brig. Gen. Ludwig August von Dieskau still managed to snatch defeat

By Michael G. Laramie

British Maj. Gen. Sir William Johnson stays a Mohawk warrior from scalping wounded French Brig. Gen. Ludwig August von Dieskau after the Sept. 8, 1755, Battle of Lake George in this work by American artist Benjamin West.





This period powder horn is engraved with the British coat of arms and a map of the forts in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys.

The ignominious defeat of British Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock's forces at the Battle of the Monongahela on July 9, 1755, had not only long-term repercussions on the course of the French and Indian War and the conduct of warfare in general, but also more immediate consequences. As conceived in an earlier meeting between Braddock and colonial governors in Alexandria, Va., the British would mount four campaigns against New France in 1755. Braddock's main thrust had clearly failed, resulting in the deaths of nearly 500 men, including the general himself. Lt. Col. Robert Monckton's early June siege of Fort Beau-séjour, in Acadia (present-day New Brunswick), had succeeded. But a campaign against Fort Niagara, on Lake Ontario, led by Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, Braddock's second-in-command, was delayed by logistical shortfalls, then cancelled altogether on news of Braddock's death.

The last of the four campaigns, a colonial effort against Fort Saint-Frédéric, on Lake Champlain, was led by 40-year-old Sir William Johnson, New York's appointed Iroquois agent, whom Braddock had commissioned as a major general. Thus a man with little military experience found himself at the head of an army of 3,500 colonial militiamen and upward of 250 Mohawk warriors. By mid-July, despite manpower issues and a persistent shortage of supplies, advance troops under

Maj. Gen. Phineas Lyman had marched from Albany up the Hudson River to the point below a series of waterfalls where all navigation ceased, even for canoes and rafts. There, at a portage known as the Great Carrying Place, Capt. William Eyre of the Royal Engineers—the only British regular serving in the expedition—started work on a post he named Fort Lyman. Arriving soon after, Johnson diplomatically renamed the garrison Fort Edward, in honor of the prince, a grandson of King George II and younger brother of future King George III.

While Eyre kept busy on the stronghold, with 500 militiamen at his disposal, the bulk of the colonial army under Johnson cut a road 12 miles northwest through swampy woodlands to the head of Lac du Saint-Sacrement, which Johnson promptly renamed Lake George. By early September nearly 3,000 troops were encamped along the lake, and the siege artillery had arrived. All Johnson awaited from Albany was an additional supply of small boats and enough provisions to support his army in the field for a few weeks.

To the north the governor general of New France, Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was also keeping tabs on Fort Saint-Frédéric, as well as Johnson's progress. The surprise victory over the British at the Monongahela and consequent capture of Braddock's papers had presented the marquis a dilemma. Prior reports had indicated Shirley was having difficulty moving men and supplies



Days after Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock was mortally wounded during the July 9, 1755, Battle of the Monongahela, Johnson led a column north toward Fort Saint-Frédéric.



Sir William Johnson



King Hendrick

to Fort Oswego, a British trading post on the southeast shore of Lake Ontario. Thus Vaudreuil had been marshalling his forces to launch a pre-emptive strike on the fort before Shirley's army could reinforce it.

But after reading the reports of Johnson's progress and studying the maps, Vaudreuil realized he would have to set aside any thoughts of Oswego and focus on the threat at hand. Twenty-year-old Fort Saint-Frédéric, which guarded the approach to Lake Champlain from South Bay, was known to be a crumbling mess. Its masonry walls were propped up with wooden supports in places, and although it boasted more than 60 cannons, its garrison was not strong enough to repel a concerted siege. Were Johnson to capture the fort, his army would be free to sail the length of Lake Champlain with impunity. Within a matter of days, Vaudreuil shuddered to think, 3,000 British troops could be on the outskirts of Montréal.

Suspending the Oswego operation, the governor general ordered its commander, Brig. Gen. Ludwig August von Dieskau—a German-born baron and protégé of the revered tactician Count Maurice de Saxe—to proceed to Fort Saint-Frédéric with the newly arrived Languedoc and La Reine regiments, numbering some 260 grenadiers, joined by a mixed force of 800 Canadians and colonial marines and some 700 Indian allies. From there Dieskau would see to the security of the fort before dealing with Johnson's army. If the British colonials, notorious for their poor conduct in battle, were anything like Braddock's regulars, the general might quickly scatter

Johnson's forces and still return in time to launch an assault on Fort Oswego.

When Dieskau arrived at Fort Saint-Frédéric on August 17 he found it in ill repair, but the scouting parties he dispatched detected no immediate danger, so his men set to work. The fort seen to, Dieskau moved his force south 12 miles to the Ticonderoga peninsula. From there he could contest the passage into Lake Champlain from both the Lake George and South Bay invasion routes. Question was, which approach would Johnson use? In

By September nearly 3,000 troops were encamped along the lake and artillery had arrived

the interim, Dieskau dared not move forward, for fear of leaving open one of the routes to Fort Saint-Frédéric.

On September 2 an Abenaki scout returned to camp with a British prisoner. The captive informed the baron that Johnson had marched his army to the head of Lake George. He also told Dieskau that partially completed Fort Edward had yet to mount any cannons along its walls and was guarded by only 500 men. It was precisely the information Dieskau was seeking.

His plan was simple. With a force of 700 Canadians, 600 allied Indians and a detachment of French grena-

diers—some 1,500 men in all—the general would continue down Lake Champlain by canoe to South Bay. There the troops would disembark and march south the 19 miles to Fort Edward. In taking the fort, Dieskau would cut Johnson's supply line, forcing the latter to fall back in order to re-establish communications with Albany. Given there were only a half-dozen weeks left in the campaign season before the weather would make any siege impractical, the action would effectively end the British threat to Fort Saint-Frédéric.

By the evening of September 7 Dieskau's force was encamped in the woods a few miles from Fort Edward. The general was arguing with his Indian allies over the plan of attack when two British prisoners were brought before him. The men stated Johnson was at Lake George with 3,000 colonials and their Mohawk allies. Furthermore, the British commander knew there was a French force in the area, but had no idea of its size or location. Convening with his Indian allies, Dieskau gave them the choice of following through with an attack on the fort or striking north to attack Johnson's camp at Lake George. Loath to attack emplaced artillery, the chieftains opted to head north, further agreeing to return to besiege Fort Edward were the expedition successful.

Later that evening Johnson, having learned from a scout that a sizable French and Indian war party was en route to attack Fort Edward, sent a courier to warn the fort and convened a council of war. After some debate, Johnson proposed sending a 500-man detachment to the

Battle of Lake George

3,000

BRITISH TROOPS
COLONIAL MILITIAMEN, PLUS 250
ALLIED MOHAWK WARRIORS

331

CASUALTIES

1,500

FRENCH TROOPS
CANADIAN MILITIA, FRENCH
GRENADIERS AND ALLIED INDIANS

339

CASUALTIES

reports from his own scouts of the British advance, Dieskau had selected a spot just south of the lake where the road threaded a narrow defile. There the baron deployed his Canadians and Indians in the forested slopes to either side, while his regulars blocked the road farther back. Williams' column had entered Dieskau's trap but not yet encountered the French regulars when a premature shot rang out from one of the Canadians or Indians. The misstep spared the British from annihilation, but they still paid dearly for their lack of caution, as seconds later the tree line east of the road lit up with jets of flame from a rolling volley of musket fire. The echoes of the opening barrage had not yet faded when followed by the rippling thunder of several hundred muskets from the tree line west of the road.

The British vanguard disintegrated. Hendrick, his pony shot from beneath him in the opening volley, was bayoneted where he fell, and Williams took a musket ball to the head while attempting to secure high ground, leaving the column leaderless. Moments later a deafening chorus of yells and war whoops rang out, as hundreds of Canadian troops and Indian warriors armed with knives, tomahawks and war clubs rushed in from either side of the road. The British column convulsed and then broke into headlong flight toward Lake George. Given the bloodthirsty tide following close on its heels, the shattered column would likely have been engulfed were it not for Lt. Col. Nathan Whiting's disciplined rear guard, which delayed the enemy with a few well-timed volleys.

When the opening barrage reached Dieskau's ears, he cursed the impatience of the Canadian irregulars and Indian warriors and ordered his grenadiers to advance. His opportunity slipping away, the baron quickly formulated another plan: First, he would push

the British column back on its camp and exploit the confusion created by its return to cover an assault on the fortifications. Then, once atop the colonials, he would send his grenadiers on a bayonet charge, which he was convinced would turn the undisciplined provincials into a panicked mob.

The north end of Johnson's camp abutted the lake, its flanks protected by swampy ground. The west and central portions of the position were buttressed by the three Massachusetts regiments. The remaining troops, the artillery and the bulk of the stores lay along the east side, where the road entered the encampment. No defensive works had been erected, and although the colonial troops had cleared most of the ground within the encampment,

Crushing Blow



Combining a heavy stone head with a sturdy wooden handle, the traditional Iroquois war club was intended to crush an enemy's skull or break his legs or arms, its mere appearance in battle often terrifying opposing warriors.

aid of the understrength garrison. King Hendrick, leader of Mohawks in camp, strongly objected. "If they are to fight, they are too few," he said of the detachment. "If to be killed, they are too many." His comment made an impression on the general, who resolved to double the number. At 8 a.m. on September 8 the 1,000-man relief force, under Massachusetts Col. Ephraim Williams, marched out of camp, followed soon after by Hendrick and his 250 Mohawks. A mile down the freshly cut road to Fort Edward, Hendrick and his fleet warriors took the lead. Fearing that deploying flankers would only slow the column, Williams traded speed for security and recklessly pressed forward, unaware of the danger that lay ahead.

Unfortunately for the Massachusetts commander, what lay ahead was a perfectly set ambush. On receiving



the perimeter, with the exception of an open area along the road, remained a tangled mass of brush and broadleaf trees. At the sound of approaching gunfire, the British troops scrambled to raise a makeshift breastwork, piling up felled trees, wagons and even overturned boats about the perimeter of the camp. The men also hauled three heavy cannons into position opposite the road and manhandled a fourth gun atop a hill along the camp's eastern edge. By the time Williams' panicked troops started pouring into camp, the barricade was no more than a few feet high in many places.

While the return of the British detachment had created the confusion Dieskau had anticipated, he remained more than a half-mile away, still dickering with his field commanders. The Canadians and Indians were exhausted from the running battle, and neither group was interested in attacking a fortified camp supported by cannons. Dieskau, whose family crest reportedly bore the legend **BOLDNESS WINS**, was determined to press his advantage. His grenadiers would attend to the British guns, he promised the Canadians and Indians. All they had to do was rush the barricade, which, he pointed out, was "of trifling height."

Having stabilized his hastily arranged lines, Johnson urges his men forward as the French and their Indian allies begin to withdraw.

Forming his regulars into a column, Dieskau sent them marching down the road against the British position, and although it took some persuading, the Canadian and Indian contingents began filtering through the woods

Dieskau, whose family crest bore the legend 'Boldness Wins,' pressed his advantage

toward Johnson's camp. While most obeyed the general's orders, it was clear many did not, and it was also clear those who did had no intention of brazenly storming the British lines.

Meanwhile, the brief pause in the fighting had given Johnson and his officers precious time to calm their frightened troops and stabilize their hastily arranged lines. Sporadic firing broke out as concealed Canadians



and Indians probed the breastwork from the trees. Then came a rattle of drums, as the French regulars marched into view on the road. Johnson's officers deployed their men as Dieskau's white-coated formation advanced to within 100 yards. While terror froze many of the provin-

William Eyre's gunners 'made lanes, streets and alleys' through the French formation

cial troops, Capt. Eyre, in command of the cannons deployed across from the French formation, finally gave the order to fire. While the sound of the guns bolstered the British troops' spirits, the muzzles were set too high, and the balls sailed harmlessly into the trees beyond. French troops then opened a crashing fire by platoon on the British lines. Perhaps due to frayed nerves, their volleys, too, were poorly aimed and did little damage. Johnson's men then returned fire.

An alarmed Dieskau had noticed the paralyzing effect the sound of Eyre's guns had had on the irregulars, particularly his Indian allies. Another such barrage might send them running. Standing near the front of the white-coated formation, the French general drew his sword and cried out, "March! Let us force the place!" The baron had barely taken a step, however, when a musket ball struck him in the leg. His second-in-command, Lt. Col. Pierre-André Gohin, Comte de Montreuil, who had also been wounded, urged the general to retire, but Dieskau would have none of it. Montreuil was cleansing out the general's wound with brandy when two more balls hit the baron, in the right knee and left hip. A third ball smacked into Montreuil's cartridge box.

For the aggressors the situation was becoming perilous. While the fire from the Rhode Island and Connecticut regiments in front of them was galling enough, Eyre's gunners had finally found the range and, according to one witness "made lanes, streets and alleys" through the French formation. With his losses mounting and finding it impossible to advance in order, Dieskau ordered his men to disperse into the woods on either side of the road.

Tactical Takeaways

Improvise Shrewdly

Dieskau's willingness to make snap decisions stood him in good stead at the ambush of Johnson's column.

Overconfidence Kills

Buoyed by his initial success, the French general then launched a foolhardy attack against an entrenched superior British force.

It Ain't Over Till ...

Though Dieskau was wounded four times and captured, his troops driven from the field, his attack had succeeded in breaking the British force's martial spirit.

By that point the Canadians

and Indians on the French left had reached the tree line in front of Johnson's encampment and opened fire from concealment on the British lines. A deadly game of hide-and-shoot took hold over the next few hours, the opposing marksmen exposing themselves only an instant in order to fire, then ducking behind whatever cover was available to reload their muskets. One Massachusetts soldier described the fight as "nothing but thunder and lightning and perpetual pillars of smoke," while another claimed the gunfire roared uninterrupted for hours, the bullets humming past his ears like hailstones.

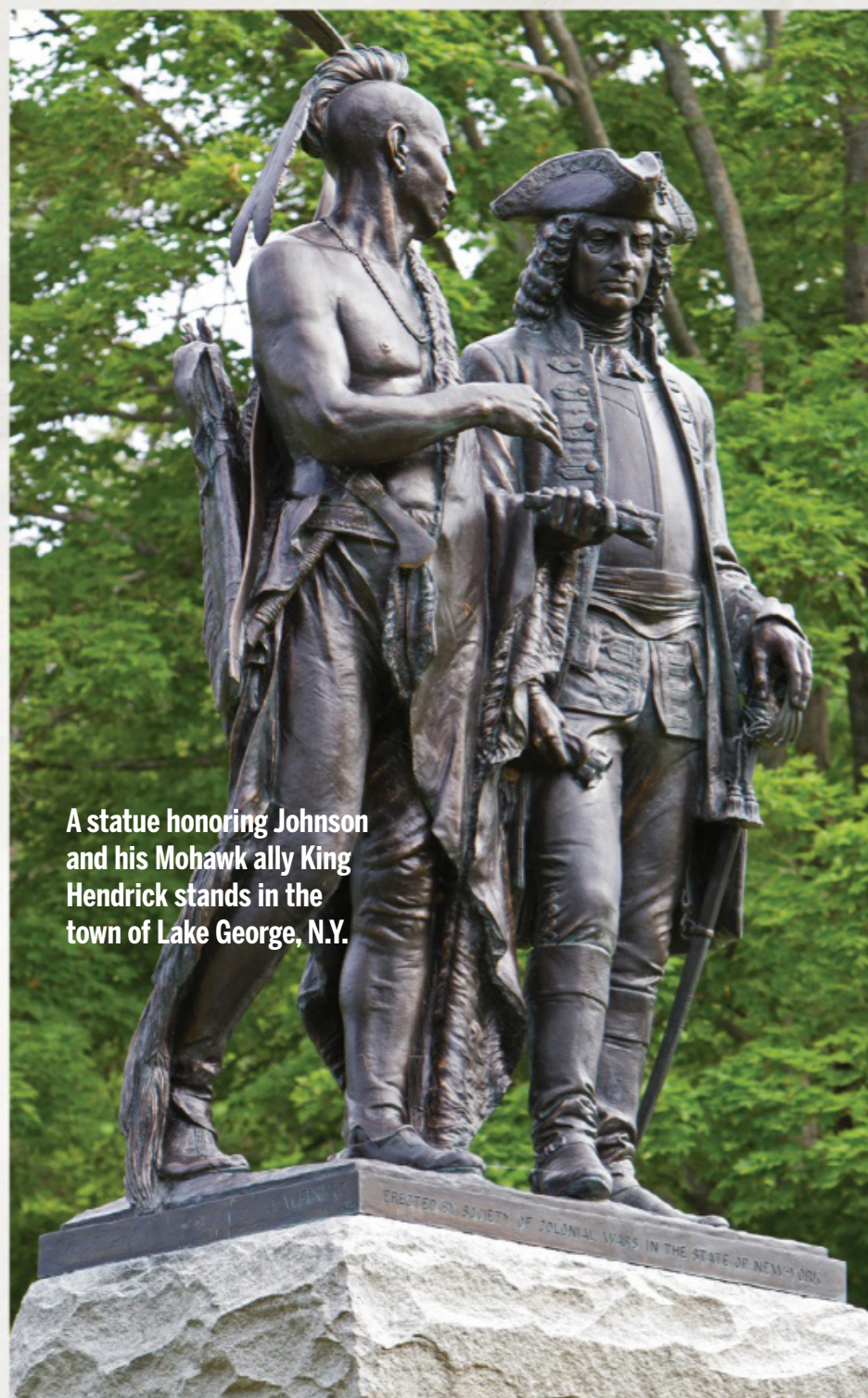
By 4 p.m. the rate of French fire had diminished, as most of the Canadians and Indians had seen enough

and returned to where they'd left their packs at the site of Williams' ambush. Unable to move, the thrice-wounded Dieskau had ordered Montreuil to take command. On being shot once more by a wary enemy scout, the baron was carried into the British camp a prisoner.

There was nothing left for Montreuil to do but order his drummers to beat the retreat. While Johnson's badly shaken force was in no condition to interfere with the French withdrawal, Montreuil's men did run into a 120-man detachment of British soldiers sent out from Fort Edward under Capt. Nathaniel Folsom, a future American general. The forces skirmished near the site of Williams' ambush for a few hours before the more numerous French broke off the engagement and set out for South Bay. By September 10 Montreuil's men were back at Ticonderoga.

While the French had suffered somewhat fewer casualties, the British claimed victory, because they held the field at the end of the day. Dieskau, who would recover from his wounds and return home at war's end in 1763, had plenty of time to brood over how so much could go from right to wrong in a single campaign. He had improvised on the fly and inflicted a major defeat on the British. Not satisfied with this, however, he had attacked an entrenched army, one that not only outnumbered him but also was largely rested and ready. It was a gamble against long odds, but true to his family crest Dieskau had cast the die—and lost.

For his part, Johnson had divided his army in front of an unknown enemy, walked into an ambush and managed to avoid annihilation only out of dumb luck, yet he was hailed as "a second Marlborough for coolness of head and warmth of heart." In appreciation, King George II made him a baronet, and Parliament presented him with £5,000 as a token of thanks. His badly shaken men, who



A statue honoring Johnson and his Mohawk ally King Hendrick stands in the town of Lake George, N.Y.

spent the days after battle burying close to 200 compatriots, did not necessarily share this view of victory.

Although defeated, Dieskau had accomplished his task. The battle had broken the colonial army's spirit, and Johnson knew it. As the autumn rains set in, it became clear there would be no attack on Fort Saint-Frédéric. Instead, the British at Lake George spent the remaining months before winter erecting Fort William Henry, while the French at Ticonderoga built Fort Carillon. The respective armies retired to winter quarters in late November, but it was certain they would be back at each other's throats come spring. **MH**

*Michael C. Laramie is the author of three books on the military history of colonial North America. For further reading he recommends his own *The European Invasion of North America*, as well as *The Battle of Lake George*, by William R. Griffith IV, and *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart*, by William L. Stone.*

INTO A HORNET'S NEST

The grinding 73-day fight for the Pacific island of Peleliu was all for naught, as a neighboring atoll proved of far greater strategic value
By Jon Guttman



By September 1944 U.S. forces had wrested the Mariana Islands and Papua New Guinea from the Japanese and were ready for the next step in their island-hopping campaign toward the Philippines. To keep enemy air assets from threatening the northern flank of the advance, the Americans had to secure Palau, an archipelago in the western Caroline Islands. Lt. Gen. Sadae Inoue, the Japanese commander in Palau, had concentrated some 35,000 troops on Koror and Babelthuap islands, but U.S. forces opted to land on two other islands: Peleliu and Angaur. Bypassed altogether, the Japanese garrisons on Koror and Babelthuap remained isolated through war's end.

Defending Peleliu was Colonel Kunio Nakagawa with 5,300 troops of the 14th Infantry Division, 1,100 naval infantrymen and some 4,500 other personnel, mostly Korean and Okinawan laborers, to oppose the 17,490 Marines under Maj. Gen. William Rupertus, commander of the 1st Marine Division, who landed on Sept. 15, 1944. After a failed attempt to drive the Marines from the beach, followed by the loss of Peleliu's airfield the next day, Nakagawa concentrated his forces on Umurbrogol Mountain, exploiting its limestone caves and ridges in a tenacious, ultimately suicidal defense aimed at inflicting maximum casualties on the enemy.

The Marines had expected to take the island in no more than four days (Rupertus had predicted three). But the battle was still raging when 10,994 soldiers of the U.S. Army's 81st Infantry Division, under Maj. Gen. Paul Mueller, took over on October 30, and Peleliu wasn't declared secure until November 27—73 days after the initial landings—by which time the liberation of the Philippines was under way. The cost to the Americans was 1,794 dead and 8,010 wounded. Of the 10,900 defenders, 10,695 were confirmed killed in action. Scores of diehards sealed themselves within the caves of Umurbrogol, while Nakagawa committed *seppuku* (ritual suicide). The Americans captured just 202 men, mostly laborers.

Meanwhile, on landing at Angaur on September 17, 8,000 soldiers of the 81st Infantry Division had quickly established beachheads. Like the garrison on Peleliu, however the nearly 1,400 men of Major Ushio Goto's 1st Battalion, 59th Infantry Regiment conducted a stubborn fighting retreat until October 19, when Goto fell in action. There the Americans lost 20 men killed and 1,354 wounded, while the Japanese lost 1,338 killed and 59 captured.

On September 23, in a sad irony, U.S. forces had landed on Ulithi Atoll unopposed, securing its lagoon—an anchorage larger than Pearl Harbor—without a single casualty. It soon became a valuable asset toward operations against Japan. **MH**

Wary reinforcements from the U.S. 1st Marine Division make their way inland on Sept. 20, 1944, five days after the initial amphibious landings on Peleliu.





A

Two days after the 1st Marines landed on Peleliu, the Army's 81st Infantry Division assaults the nearby island of Angaur, which it secured after a monthlong fight.

B Cpl. Edward E. Brooks peers inside one of eight Japanese Type 95 *Ha-Go* light tanks the Marines destroyed during their attack on Peleliu's airfield, just east of the landing beaches.

C Marines advance across the interior of rugged Umurbrogol Mountain amid deadly crossfire from enemy positions on the ridges, taking heavy casualties for each foot of ground captured.

D A brother-in-arms gives a wounded Marine a sip of water while awaiting a medic—whom Japanese snipers also targeted during the ruthless campaign.



PELELIU



B

PREVIOUS SPREAD: ASSOCIATED PRESS; CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: BETTMANN (GETTY IMAGES); LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; U.S. MARINE CORPS HISTORY DIVISION; ASSOCIATED PRESS; MAP HISTORYNET ARCHIVES



HORNET'S NEST



HORNET'S NEST



E

Battle of Peleliu

28,484

U.S. TROOPS

1,794

KILLED

8,010 WOUNDED

10,900

JAPANESE TROOPS

10,695

KILLED

202 CAPTURED



F

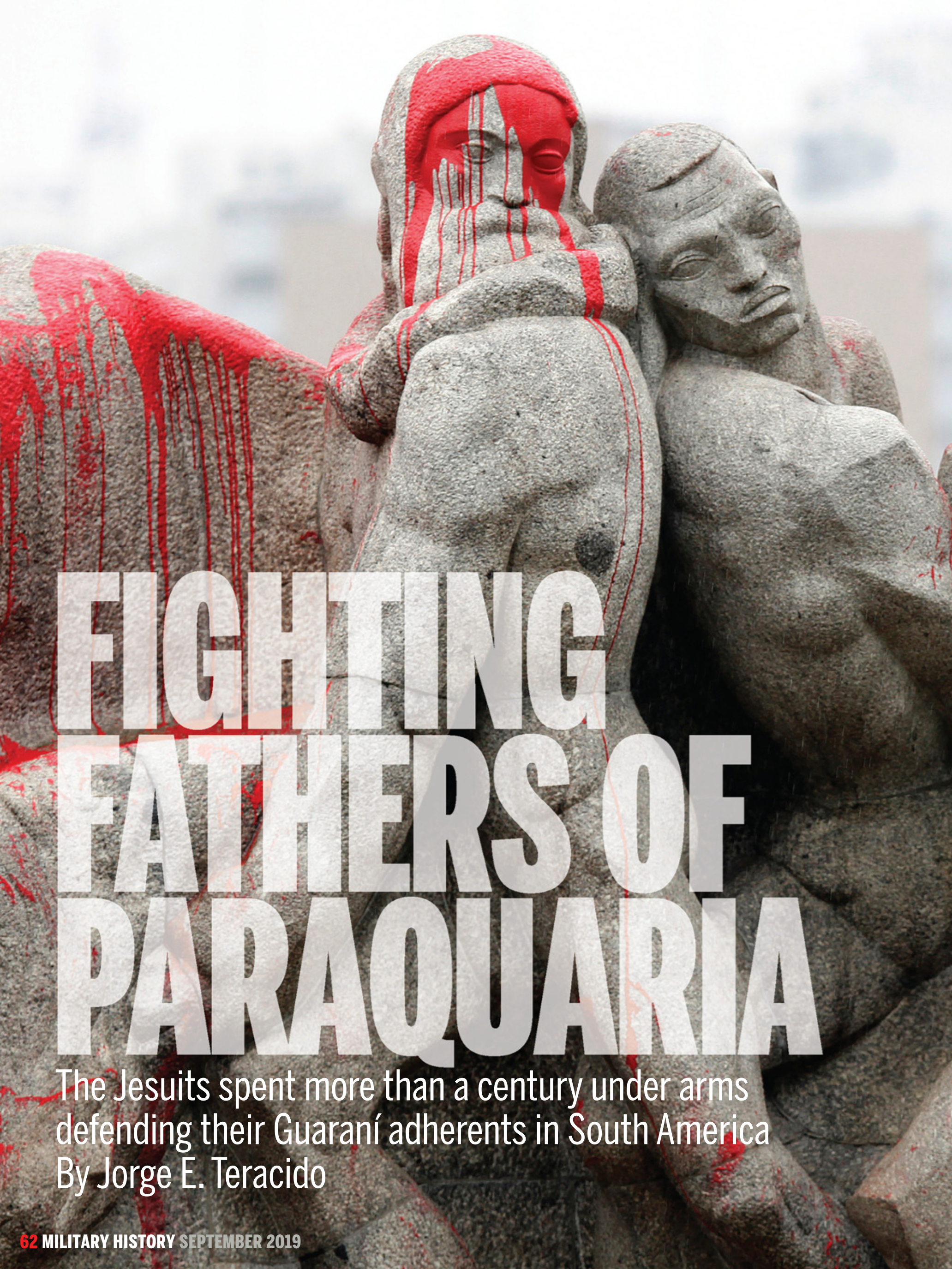
E Marines Gerald Thursby and Douglas Lightheart take a smoke break as an LVT(A)-1 Amtrac crawls by en route to the airfield. Lightheart was severely wounded a day later.

F Napalm dropped by a U.S. Marine Corps F4U-1D Corsair erupts amid Umurbrogol's cave-riddled terrain. Such weapons were crucial to rooting out dug-in Japanese.

G Senior officers of the 1st Marine Division, including its commander, Maj. Gen. William Rupertus (fifth from left), join division chaplains for services at a makeshift U.S. cemetery near the western beachhead.

H Combat correspondent and artist Tom Lea was embedded with the Marines on Peleliu, an experience he conveyed in his painting *That 2,000-Yard Stare*. In his notes on the work Lea asked rhetorically, "How much can a human being endure?"





FIGHTING FATHERS OF PARAQUARIA

The Jesuits spent more than a century under arms
defending their Guaraní adherents in South America
By Jorge E. Teracido

Red paint thrown by protestors mars a monument in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in honor of Portuguese *bandeirantes*—17th century slavers who hunted the Guaraní the Jesuits fought to protect.





Though founded by erstwhile soldier Íñigo de Oñaz y Loyola—aka Saint Ignatius of Loyola—the Society of Jesus was not initially a military-religious order. That changed, however, during the 17th and 18th centuries in the Río de la Plata basin of South America. While this militarization gained the Jesuits a century of success in the Spanish colonial province of Paraquaria, it would ultimately help bring about their downfall.

Pope Paul III's formal confirmation of the Roman Catholic order on Sept. 27, 1540, made Loyola and his Spanish brethren soldiers of Christ. Originally intending to convert Muslims in the Holy Land, Loyola soon shifted the society's focus to challenge the spread of Protestantism in Europe and seek converts among more accepting people in territories colonized by the Spanish and Portuguese.

To accomplish their objectives, the Jesuits became preeminent educators, establishing colleges to instruct the elite and future leaders of Catholic Europe. Their apostolic zeal also led them to establish missions throughout the Americas and Asia. In addition to their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, they also swore a vow of obedience to the Pope and resolved to live out their motto, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* ("To the greater glory of God").

On Feb. 9, 1604, Jesuit Superior General Claudio Acquaviva ordered the establishment of Paraquaria. Within the province—radiating from the bishopric of Asunción across Paraguay into sections of Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay and Argentina (the provinces of Misiones and Entre Ríos) and the Brazilian regions of Itatín (part of the present-day state of Mato Grosso do Sul), Guayrá (largely the state of Paraná) and Tapé (the state of Rio Grande do Sul)—the Jesuits evangelized the indigenous peoples and founded mission pueblos known as *reducciones* ("reductions"). They were tasked with bringing together tribal populations from the surrounding forests to live in communities. At one point 30 missions flourished with more than 140,000 Guaraní inhabitants.

Paraquaria enjoyed a special status within the Spanish empire, as the Jesuits received an exemption from the existing *encomienda* laws. Under those statutes indigenous people could be compelled to work (though technically not as slaves) for Spanish landowners and overlords

as a form of tribute. In Paraquaria the Guaraní were initially exempted from taxes, then paid tribute directly to the Spanish king and enjoyed a measure of self-rule and landownership. Each mission was supervised by two Jesuit priests with veto power over almost all decisions. Elected natives served as a governing body and helped maintain order.

Communal land provided housing for the aged, widows and orphans and for the community as a whole in time of need. Attached to the missions were large *estancias* (ranches) comprising thousands of acres on which the Jesuits raised cattle and horses. The Jesuits also operated *yerbales* (plantations of yerba maté, a holly species whose leaves and twigs are used to make tea), giving them a virtual monopoly in the trade of what became known as "Jesuit tea."

Inevitably, the Jesuits' ownership of immense tracts of land and concentration of the indigenous population in the missions created conflicts with Europeans who had depended on free (i.e., slave) labor for their revenues. Also, as Portugal permitted the enslavement of indigenous people, slave hunters from São Paulo—variously known as *Paulistas*, *mamelucos* or *bandeirantes*—begrudged the Jesuits' protection of the Guaraní, which deprived them of a theretofore reliable source of income. Portuguese landowners also resented Jesuit protection of the indigenous people, as the latter came cheaper than African slaves. (Perplexingly, while the Jesuits championed the Guaraní cause, they turned a blind eye to the enslavement of Africans, even owning slaves themselves.)

Rancor increased as the Jesuits persuaded the Spanish king to exclude all Europeans, Africans and *mestizos* (mixed-race people) from entering the pueblos or making contact with the Guaraní. The Jesuits also forbade the use of European languages in their territory. Knowledge of



As Guaraní captives look on, *bandeirantes* stop to drink from a stream during a slave-hunting expedition into Jesuit territory.



Saint Ignatius of Loyola

Guaraní grammar, vocabulary and the spoken language was a great advantage for the Jesuits in their efforts to catechize and control the populace.

The *bandeirantes*, on realizing the reductions actually facilitated the capture and enslavement of those gathered within, first struck the Jesuit missions in the late 1620s. Initially defenseless, the Jesuits and Guaraní could only withdraw south, closer to the main Spanish settlements. Any missions in Itatín and Guayrá not extinguished violently were abandoned.

Undeterred, the slavers followed the migrations of those fleeing their initial attacks, ruthlessly destroying newly established missions. In 1631–32 Jesuit Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya organized an epic exodus of some 12,000 Guaraní to relative safety in what today is the Argentine province of Misiones. Ravaged by hunger, disease and hardship, two-thirds of those who set out died en route.

While he embraced the idea of winning the Guaraní with “the Word” rather than the sword, by 1637 Montoya saw the necessity of a more forceful response to the slavers’ continued attacks. Setting down his pen, he appealed in person to Spanish King Philip IV for permission to arm the indigenous warriors for self-defense. Montoya also made a case for establishing a fire wall against Portuguese encroachment on Spanish territory.

The boundaries between the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in South America were ill-defined in the 16th and 17th centuries. The 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas had demarcated a boundary between the New World holdings of the two kingdoms. But Portugal encroached on Spanish territory from the outset, and even more so after the 1580 union of Spain and Portugal under the Spanish Hapsburgs.

So it was Philip IV pondered Montoya’s compelling argument in his role as king of Spain and Portugal. On May 21, 1640, the king signed an order allowing Peruvian Viceroy Pedro Álvarez de Toledo y Leiva, who had jurisdiction over the area, to arm the Guaraní if necessary. Such a move had never been contemplated within the Spanish empire, and it provoked great hostility and fear in the European landowners, further exacerbating a growing rift in Iberian unity. Seven months later Portugal declared its independence, ending 60 tumultuous years of union.

Anticipating the king’s move, in 1638 the government of Buenos Aires had supplied Jesuit Fathers Diego de Alfaro and Pedro Romero and the Guaraní they oversaw with weapons and 11 soldier-advisers whose task was to train the clerics and their flock in the use of European weaponry and battlefield tactics. In a clash the following



Coquera

Crafted by the Guaraní at the Jesuit missions, these ornate boxes were exported throughout Paraquaria and used to store coca leaves, tea or sweets. Shaped like a scallop shell, this example rests on legs representing mythological female creatures.





Bandeirantes fire back at attacking Botocudos, a term the slavers applied to indigenous people who adorned their lips and earlobes with wooden disks.

year with *bandeirantes*, Father Alfaro stopped the slavers cold, then, in a moment of Christian forgiveness, allowed them to withdraw unmolested. They of course came back and killed the priest. But Alfaro's demise did not mark the end of the Jesuits' resistance, as ex-military Brothers Domingo de Torres, Juan Cárdenas and Antonio Bernal

Waiting for the slavers were Jesuits and 4,200 Guaraní armed with assorted weapons

stepped up to help the 11 soldiers train the Guaraní. An epic battle was in the offing.

The catalyst came with the flood of the Uruguay River in early 1641 when *bandeirantes* Jerónimo Pedroso de Barros and Manuel Pires launched a full-scale offensive against the missions. Four hundred *bandeirantes* and a band of Dutch freebooters led 2,700 indigenous Tupí allies down the riverbank, their advance paralleled by a fleet of 300 canoes and rafts. No quarter would be ex-

tended this time—by either side. Waiting for the slavers were Jesuits and 4,200 Guaraní armed with 300 guns, cutlasses, assorted indigenous weapons and 360 small craft.

Command of the Jesuit-led force was entrusted to Father Romero, with other priests and brothers assuming support roles in the preparations. Leading the indigenous army was Brother Domingo, aided by lead *cacique* (indigenous field commander) Nicolás Ñeenguirú from Concepción and *caciques* Francisco Mbayroba of San Nicolás and Arazay from San Javier. Commanding the flotilla was *cacique* Ignacio Abiarú, who hailed from a mission on the Acaraguá River. Flanders-born Father Superior Claude Ruyer formulated the overall strategy.

The Guaraní made their stand at a point in present-day Misiones Province, Argentina, where Mbororé Creek empties into the Uruguay.

The *bandeirantes* made the first move, attacking downriver on February 25. From his command raft Abiarú engaged the enemy force with a tacuara wood cannon, forcing the *bandeirantes* to fall back after two hours of fighting. On March 11 the expected follow-up assault came, again by water. Avoiding encirclement, the Guaraní-Jesuit fleet drove the enemy boats toward the fortified promontory at the mouth of the Mbororé. Caught in a crossfire, the *bandeirantes* retreated to a hastily built palisade on the right bank of the river, where the Guaraní-

Jesuit troops besieged them for four days. Thrice the slavers tried to surrender, only to be rebuffed. Blocked from retreating on the river, they fled into the surrounding jungle. Father Ruyer led the pursuit, driving the *bandeirantes* into the territory of the Gualachí, a cannibalistic people who feasted on the defeated slavers and their Tupí allies. The *bandeirantes* attempted yet another incursion into mission territory the following year, but they were soundly defeated and never again posed a threat.

In the aftermath of the *bandeirantes*' defeat the Jesuit missions established their own armories and continued to provide military training to the Guaraní. On more than 70 subsequent occasions the Spanish governors of Asunción and Buenos Aires called on the Jesuits and their indigenous allies to either subdue hostile tribes or repel encroaching European powers. As a further bulwark against the Portuguese the Jesuits re-established seven missions east of the Uruguay River in Tapé. Those missions would play a role in the ultimate undoing of the Jesuits.

As the Jesuits increasingly proved their military mettle, resentment and jealousy of the society spread among European settlers and other religious orders who regarded the self-sufficient, vibrant Jesuit state as a challenge to their own authority and survival. While the missions enjoyed great prosperity over the next century, the Jesuits were continually fending off attacks from Spanish and Portuguese religious and civil authorities.

Meanwhile, Portugal continued to encroach on territory claimed by Spain, and in 1680 Portuguese traders established the port city of Nova Colônia do Santíssimo Sacramento, on the north bank of the estuary of Río de la Plata. Only 31 miles from Buenos Aires, on the opposite shore, the port quickly became a smuggling center that threatened both the Paraná and Uruguay rivers, which in turn led to the interior of the Spanish dominions.

In the mid-18th century Europe itself was a politically and spiritually turbulent region. Much as the Jesuits had held sway over Catholic European monarchies in their positions as educators and confessors to the powerful, the secular ideas of Enlightenment politicians and philosophers also took hold, inevitably clashing with religious traditions. Among those especially hostile to the Jesuits was Portuguese statesman Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (later dubbed the Marquês de Pombal), who in 1750 was appointed the equivalent of prime minister. Mounting an intense propaganda campaign against the Jesuits, he managed to implicate them in the 1758 attempted assassination of King Joseph I. In its aftermath members of the deeply religious Távora family were publicly executed for attempted regicide, while their Jesuit confessor, Gabriel Malagrida, declared a heretic by the Inquisition, was publicly garroted to death, his body tossed on a bonfire. Pombal delighted in suppressing the Jesuits in Portugal and its possessions.

The beginning of the end for the Jesuits in Paraquaria came in 1750 when Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Madrid, in part to settle a dispute over ownership of Colônia. In exchange for the port, the Spanish surrendered to Portugal nearly 20,000 square miles of territory in Tapé, including the seven flourishing mission pueblos and their *estancia* lands, plus those belonging to missions on the west bank of the Uruguay. The pueblos' 30,000 Guaraní inhabitants were to migrate with their moveable possessions to lands west of the Uruguay, a turning point depicted in the 1986 film *The Mission*, directed by Roland Joffé.

At first the indigenous governments of all but one of the pueblos and some of the fathers accepted the orders. But many Jesuits in the province reacted to the treaty with dismay and appealed to the king to reconsider—to no avail. The Jesuit hierarchy in Rome compelled the fathers to obey. In a precarious position among the European Catholic



Marquês de Pombal



Philip IV of Spain



Among the traditional weapons in use by the Guaraní before the arrival of Europeans were bows and arrows, with which they might set villages afire.



Present-day tilework commemorates Guaraní cacique Sepé Tiaraju's fight against the Portuguese. Right: Established by the Jesuits in 1691, its church built in 1752, Mission San Javier in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, was restored in 1993.

nations, Jesuit Superior General Ignacio Visconti invoked the vow of obedience and sent his representative Padre Lope Luis de Altamirano to enforce his and the Crown's mandate for the peaceful surrender of the seven pueblos.

The Guaraní appealed to Ferdinand VI as Christian subjects of Spain and made an impassioned argument of

their past loyalty to the crown as soldiers of the king. When their pleas also fell on deaf ears, they mobilized to defend their lands. In February 1753, after the Guaraní opposed the commissioners charged with demarcating the new boundaries, José de Andonaegui, the Spanish governor of Río de la Plata in Buenos Aires, declared a state of war between the crown and the seven pueblos. Joining in the declaration was Gomes Freire de Andrade, the Portuguese governor and captain-general of Rio de Janeiro. The standoff soon flared into the Guaraní War.

In June 1754 the Spanish governor moved north with a 1,500-man army. Opposing him was *cacique* Rafael Paracatú, from the Yapeyú mission across the Uruguay. Bad weather and persistent Guaraní ambushes forced Andonaegui to retreat, but not before he captured Paracatú in a skirmish.

At the same time Freire was marching on the pueblos. His Portuguese force soon

encountered Guaraní under *cacique* Sepé Tiaraju, who was captured but managed to escape the night before he was to be executed. Bad weather and relentless guerrilla attacks forced the Portuguese to sign an armistice with the Guaraní in November 1754. The powers that be blamed the Jesuits for the indigenous uprising, and Padre Altamirano liberally excommunicated his complicit Jesuit

brethren. Meanwhile, the Guaraní picked up support from fierce non-mission tribes.

The Europeans regrouped and in December 1755, aided by troops under José Joaquín de Viana, governor of Montevideo, renewed their offensive against the Guaraní. Andonaegui advanced from Buenos Aires with 1,500 men and 150 Spanish soldiers, Viana from Montevideo with 1,670, and Freire from Rio de Janeiro with 1,200. They joined forces in Santa Tecla, and their first target was the mission of San Miguel.

Sepé was overall commander of the indigenous army, which numbered nearly 1,700 men and fielded eight indigenous artillery pieces made of bound tacuaruzu cane that could be fired only a few times. Unfortunately for the Guaraní, in a skirmish at Batoví in February 1756, Viana's Montivideanos killed Sepé. Leadership passed to *cacique* Nicolás Ñeenguirú (namesake and descendant of the hero of Mbororé 115 years earlier). Though reportedly a man of great courage, Ñeenguirú was not as adept as his ancestor in the art of war.

The Guaraní made their stand at an *estancia* south of the Yacuí River. There atop fortified Caibaté hill on February 10 the indigenous army, though entrenched behind ramparts, was soundly defeated in little more than an hour, suffering some 1,500 men killed and 154 captured. A handful of Guaraní escaped into the jungle to wage a futile guerrilla war. European losses in the battle were four killed and 30 wounded.

The European forces then took the pueblos in succession. After a few skirmishes retreating Guaraní burned San Miguel, the first, on May 17. By month's end all the pueblos had fallen, and the war was over. Within two years the victorious Europeans had removed all the Guaraní. It was all for naught, for the Portuguese ultimately refused to give up Colônia and in 1761 signed the Treaty of El Pardo, abrogating the terms of the Treaty of Madrid. About 15,000 Guaraní returned to find their pueblos devastated.

Implicated as the instigators at the heart of the rebellion, the Jesuits also faced consequences. Father Tadeo



A Petition

Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, who in 1631–32 led 12,000 Guaraní to relative safety in what today is the Argentine province of Misiones, published this volume in 1639, pleading with Philip IV of Spain to act against the depredations of the *bandeirantes*.

Ennis, a Bohemian Jesuit, was captured at San Lorenzo along with his papers, which recounted the course of the uprising in detail. Fingering as the behind-the-scenes commander of the Guaraní, Ennis contended he was merely a chaplain and physician to the indigenous troops. He was later acquitted in Buenos Aires. Regardless, the society's critics published a raft of anti-Jesuit books and manuscripts, accusing the order of having founded their own republic and other crimes against the Crown, as well as calling out individual Jesuits as participants in the war.

In 1759, at the Marquês de Pombal's behest, Portugal became the first monarchy to formally expel the Jesuits from its dominion, followed by France in 1764 and Spain in 1767. Pope Clement XIV completed the suppression of the order with a papal brief promulgated on July 21, 1773.

Thus ended the Jesuits' dream of a Utopia in Paraquaria. In 1767–68 the order abandoned all of its South American missions and institutions, which were subsequently occupied, inventoried and sacked. The 30 empty pueblos fell under the administration of other orders or civil authority. Their failure was perhaps preordained, as those who followed could not maintain the balanced and equitable administrative and socioeconomic system established by the Jesuits. The Guaraní simply melted back into the jungle.

For more than 160 years a system the Jesuits held forth as an earnest attempt at Christian social justice—and envious critics derided as exploitative and paternal-

istic—survived and thrived in Paraquaria. The alternative for the Guaraní was enslavement or continual harassment from European settlers.

Forty-one years after Clement XIV's papal suppression, Pope Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus in a papal bull issued on Aug. 7, 1814. The Jesuits returned to Argentina in 1836, Uruguay in 1842 and Brazil in 1844, though not to Paraguay until 1927. By then Paraquaria was a memory, as time had decayed the deserted mission buildings and nature had reclaimed the land. Today the scattered ruins serve as tourist attractions and World Heritage Sites. Among them is the Jesuit reduction of Jesús de Tavarangüé in Paraguay, which was unfinished at the Jesuits' expulsion. Tavarangüé is a Guaraní blend word that roughly translates to, "The Town That Would Have Been in the Past." **MH**

Jorge E. Teracido is a retired Jesuit preparatory school instructor from Kansas City, Mo., with a doctorate in romance languages and Renaissance studies. For further reading he recommends Black Robes in Paraguay, by William F. Jaenike, and A Vanished Arcadia, by Robert Bontine Cunningham Graham.

Tactical Takeaways

Mercy Can Be Fatal

As Father Diego de Alfaro learned in 1639, allowing one's enemy to withdraw unmolested often allows that enemy to regroup and attack again. Alfaro died for his misplaced mercy.

A Crossfire Works

Ignacio Abiarú negated the *bandeirantes'* edge at Mbororé by catching them in a withering crossfire that forced the slavers into a hasty, disorganized retreat.

Losses Have Results

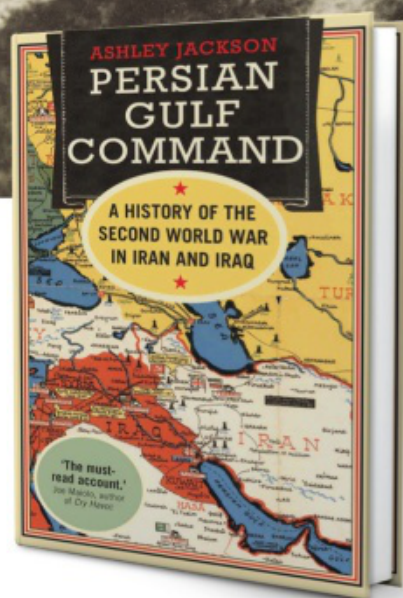
The European defeat of the Guaraní led to their subjugation and sparked a decades-long backlash against their Jesuit protectors.



Commissioned in 1921 and completed in 1954, Sao Paulo's Monument to the Bandeiras was intended to pay tribute to the 17th century "explorers" who opened the interior of Brazil.

Reviews

British armored cars move up a mountain road in Iraq during the suppression of Rashid Ali al-Gaylani's 1941 coup attempt.



Persian Gulf Command: A History of the Second World War in Iran and Iraq, by Ashley Jackson, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 2018, \$30

WWII in Iran & Iraq

The course of World War II in Egypt and North Africa has been well documented by an endless flow of books and papers, but what happened in Iran and Iraq has been largely overlooked, for there were no epic advances, no disastrous retreats, and no Bernard Law Montgomery or Erwin Rommel to hold center stage. Yet that was the theater in which the United States, Britain and Soviet Russia fought alongside one another.

Had Britain not prevailed in the May 1941 Anglo-Iraqi campaign, it would have lost its position in the region, its oil supplies, even access to India. At the same time Germany let a golden opportunity slip by failing to fully support Rashid Ali al-Gaylani, the anti-British Iraqi prime minister. In Winston Churchill's estimation, "Hitler certainly cast away the opportunity of

taking a great prize for little cost in the Middle East."

With the German threat diminished to the point of inconsequence, the United States and Britain devoted their attention to the transport of military aid bound for Russia. The Allies accomplished extraordinary feats of road construction and maintenance, as day and night convoy after convoy surged north from the Persian Gulf, while others panted their way from Karachi. Add to this difficulties caused by rain, snowdrifts, dust storms and temperatures ranging from minus 25 to 120 degrees.

Maintaining morale was another major challenge. Drawing on U.S. archives, author Ashley Jackson offers a fascinating glimpse into the issues affecting the lives of everyday soldiers in the Iran-Iraq theater. The

availability and quality of food was a common complaint, one soldier writing, “What in the name of God do you think we guys have, anyway, cast-iron stomachs?” Another beef centered on the privileges enjoyed by officers, with whom, for example, female nurses were allowed to associate—such delights available to enlisted men on a much-diminished scale, if at all.

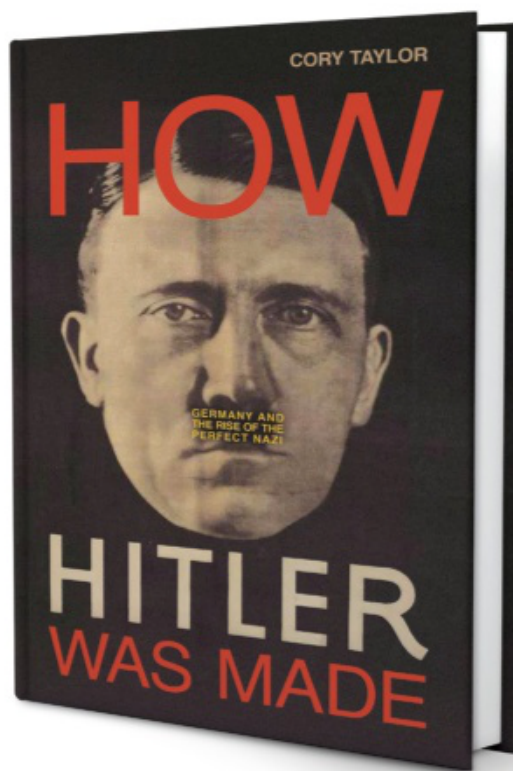
The last two years of the war saw the Allies increasingly at loggerheads. To the north the Soviets fastened their grip, while in the south the British expected to resume control as if nothing had changed, and the Americans were determined to fashion a new world order. Jackson charts the intense Allied military activity in Iran and Iraq and reveals how deeply the war affected people’s everyday lives. He also shares revelations about the true nature of Anglo-American relations in the region, the roots of the Cold War and the continuing legacy—good and bad—of Western influence in the region.

—David Saunders

How Hitler Was Made: Germany and the Rise of the Perfect Nazi, by Cory Taylor, Prometheus Books, Amherst, N.Y., 2018, \$25

Biographies of Adolf Hitler remain a major industry, but comprehensive volumes are best reserved for superstar historians. This is award-winning documentary filmmaker Cory Taylor’s first effort, and he wisely limits himself to the years up to 1924, when Hitler rose to national prominence. The result is a lively, insightful history of post–World War I German politics, which were only modestly less gruesome than what followed when the *Führer* took power.

Hitler was eking out a living as an artist in Munich when the war broke out in 1914. Already a fierce German nationalist, he promptly enlisted, serving in a mildly dangerous position as runner for a regimental headquarters. After the Armistice he returned to Munich but remained in the army, as he needed the income.



In the turmoil of 1918 leftists in Munich proclaimed a socialist republic. Until right-wing forces overthrew it in May 1919, Hitler served—seemingly without objection—in a unit supporting the republic and then continued to serve the government that replaced it. In July superiors assigned him to military intelligence.

Sent to investigate the German Workers’ Party, whose name belied its tiny membership, Hitler was drawn to its militantly nationalist, anti-communist and anti-Semitic views and distrust of the national government. He joined the party (as its 55th member), and his dazzling oratory drew attention. Membership grew. In 1920 it became the National Socialist German Workers’ Party, and the next year Hitler demanded absolute power as its leader.

By 1922 he was a local celebrity. As he advocated violent overthrow of the Weimar government, he was not especially popular with Munich’s establishment, although he had admirers, including the chief of police. The 1923 Beer Hall Putsch was his idea, and though it flopped, the subsequent trial attracted national attention. Aided by a sympathetic judge, he passed himself off as a war hero fighting an evil government to restore German self-respect. Though convicted, he served nine months in a comfortable prison during which he wrote his autobiography and Nazi treatise, *Mein Kampf*, swore off

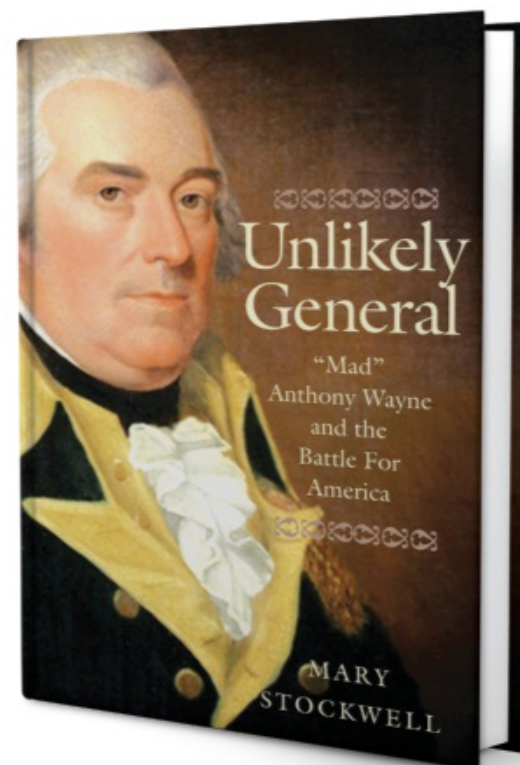
violent overthrow and resolved to seek power by democratic means. As Taylor points out, that was a no-brainer, as by the mid-1920s the German economy had improved and the Weimar government was reasonably stable.

All of this is well-trod ground, and Taylor is not a professional historian, so he relies largely on secondary sources (including the 2017 book *Becoming Hitler*, by Thomas Weber). That said, he writes well about a man whose atrocities remain without parallel but whose campaign promises to restore national glory to a people humiliated by despicable foreigners and traitorous bureaucrats has been revived by leaders around the world with dramatic success.

—Mike Oppenheim

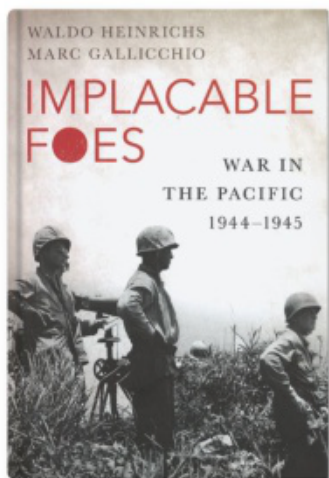
Unlikely General: “Mad” Anthony Wayne and the Battle for America, by Mary Stockwell, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 2018, \$35

The author, former chair of history at Lourdes University in Ohio, delves into the life of Anthony Wayne, the general whose military action against the region’s Indians in the 1790s made the state of Ohio possible. Although Wayne’s personal papers are archived at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Mary Stockwell based her research on the more than 500 letter transcriptions by 19th cen-



Reviews

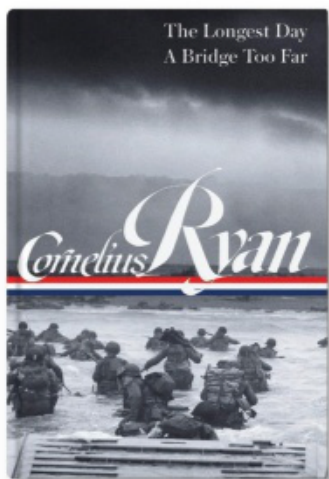
Recommended



Implacable Foes

Waldo Heinrichs
and Marc Gallicchio

This new history examines frontline action as well as key political and military decision-making in the last year and a half of combat in the Pacific Theater of World War II—from the island-hopping campaigns in New Guinea, the Philippines, Okinawa and Iwo Jima to the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.



The Longest Day / A Bridge Too Far

Cornelius Ryan

This re-release, edited by Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Rick Atkinson, arrives in time for the 75th anniversary of the 1944 Normandy invasion. Featuring both of Ryan's histories, the volume includes 88 photographs, restored maps and the author's wartime dispatches and research questionnaires he sent to veterans.

tury historian George Bancroft housed at the New York Public Library. In addition to chapter epigrams of Wayne quotes, she includes an extensive bibliography, detailed endnotes, a dozen illustrations and six excellent maps created by her sister, professional cartographer Roberta Stockwell.

Wayne was a volatile figure known to history by the sobriquet "Mad." A well-educated man, he quoted Caesar and Shakespeare at length while serving as an officer under Gen. George Washington and befriending Nathanael Greene and Gilbert du Motier, *marquis de Lafayette*, during the American Revolutionary War. Wayne was cool under fire and won accolades for his performance at such battles as Brandywine and Stony Point. But he also received due criticism, particularly for the Paoli Massacre, in which British soldiers ambushed Wayne's camp and granted no quarter to his men. During the Ohio campaign he made many enemies among his fellow officers, notably James Wilkinson and Arthur St. Clair, though he did find a loyal protégé in young William Henry Harrison. An inveterate womanizer, Wayne was estranged from his wife and children.

Though not a well man by then, Wayne achieved the high point of his military career in Ohio, where he masterfully led the new national army, known as the Legion of the United States, after St. Clair led the previ-

ous army to destruction in 1791. The responsible Indian confederacy, including the Shawnee, Miami and Delaware tribes—supported by the British from illegally occupied forts at Detroit, Oswego and Niagara—continued to block America's westward expansion until Wayne's legion of integrated infantry, riflemen, dragoons and artillery supported by militia broke the tribes at Fallen Timbers on Aug. 20, 1794. His subsequent Treaty of Greenville opened Ohio to settlement, and he presided over the reoccupation of the British forts before his untimely death in 1796.

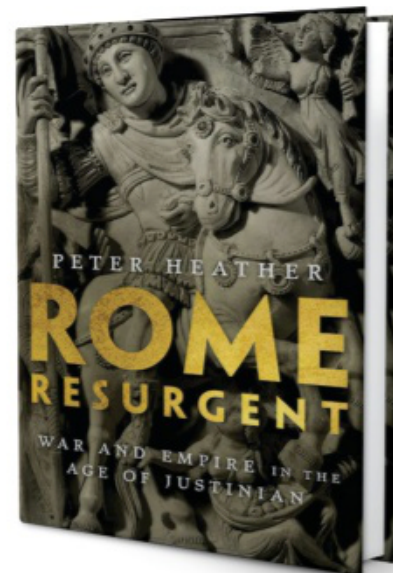
Stockwell writes cleverly, interweaving time lines of the events of 1791–96 with flashbacks of Wayne's previous life. Above all, she presents a well-balanced view of settlers and Indians, avoiding the chronic pitfalls of demonizing the one and mythologizing the other. Her worthy biography stands alongside Paul David Nelson's *Anthony Wayne: Soldier of the Early Republic* (1985), Alan D. Gaff's *Bayonets in the Wilderness* (2004) and William Hogeland's *Autumn of the Black Snake* (2017) as the definitive texts.

—William John Shepherd

Rome Resurgent: War and Empire in the Age of Justinian, by Peter Heather, Oxford University Press, New York, 2018, \$29.95

Most histories of ancient Rome deal with the first two centuries of the Christian era, from the reign of Au-

gustus to that of Marcus Aurelius. For that reason Peter Heather's new work, *Rome Resurgent*, is particularly welcome. Its 6th century protagonist, Justinian, was one of the later Roman em-



perors and among the more significant ones, though modern scholars have afforded him scant attention.

Compared with many of the better-known Roman emperors, Justinian enjoyed a particularly long and successful reign, having ruled for 38 years by the time of his death in 565 at age 83. He successfully resisted incursions into the Eastern Roman empire by both barbarian tribes and the Persian Sassanid empire. He also reconquered much of the Western Roman empire—lost to Germanic barbarians in the 5th century—including North Africa and Italy itself.

Yet many questions about Justinian remain unanswered. Did his conquests ultimately restore the Roman empire or irrevocably weaken it? Was his reconquest of the West based on a desire to restore the em-

pire or personal vainglory, or was it simply a means to divert his subjects' attention from domestic political problems? Did the decades-long conflict between Justinian and the Sassanids weaken both empires to the extent that neither was able to withstand attack by 7th century Muslims? Heathers' scholarly tome explores these and other fascinating questions.

—Robert Guttman

The Viking Wars: War and Peace in King Alfred's Britain, 789–955, by Max Adams, Pegasus Books, New York, 2018, \$29.95

Due largely to a lack of source material, relatively little has been written about the early Middle Ages (circa 500–1000). Increasingly, however, archaeology has been filling gaps in our knowledge about the period, and those revelations combined with existing written sources now provide adequate material for worthwhile books by competent authors. Max Adams is such an author, and *The Viking Wars* is such a book, relating the political and military history of the British Isles across the time frame.

Adams divides his book into three broad periods—from the initial Norse invasions and subsequent clashes with the Britons to a transition period when Norse kings coexisted uneasily with their Angle and Saxon counterparts and, finally, to the gradual assimilation of the Norse into British culture. Each section opens on a time line of significant events during the respective period, providing historical context for those less familiar with the Viking era.

Adams does an excellent job of weaving together archaeological findings, firsthand accounts, secular and religious histories, and other available sources from early medieval Britain. He uses some unfamiliar language but almost always defines it in a footnote. And while the book could do with more maps to help readers place the kings

and lords in their respective realms, the illustrations provided serve to illuminate the narrative.

On the whole *The Viking Wars* is an interesting and well-written history of the Norse invasion of the British Isles and their eventual assimilation. It is an engaging read, certainly worth a look for anyone curious about the early history of the region.

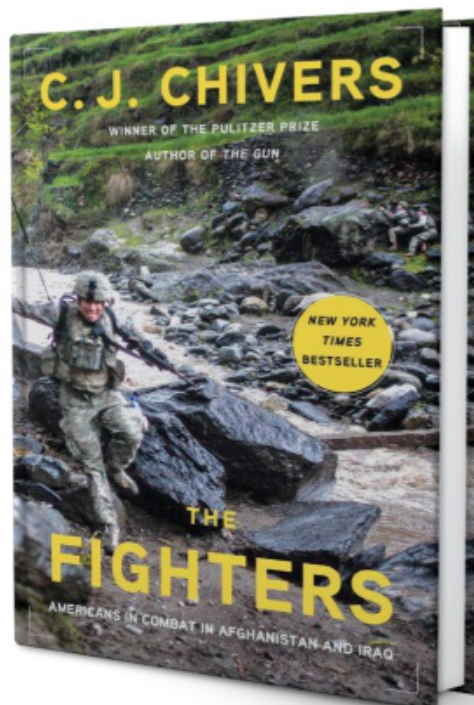
—David Harris

The Fighters: Americans in Combat in Afghanistan and Iraq, by C.J. Chivers, Simon & Schuster, New York, N.Y., 2018, \$28

Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist C.J. Chivers has crafted a masterpiece of military history in *The Fighters*. This powerful book details the lives of six individuals who served in the United States' two most recent wars and the price they paid to serve their country.

The book is not for the squeamish. Though it is not overly gory, it paints a powerful picture of the horrors of combat and the toll it takes on those who go into harm's way. The author knows well of this experience; before becoming a war correspondent for *The New York Times*, he was a Marine and served in Operation Desert Storm.

Chivers sums up his purpose for writing in the preface:



All of them had personally grueling wartime experiences. Most of them suffered wounds—physical, psychological, moral or all three. Together, their journeys hold part of the sum of American foreign policy in our time.

With care and candor he traces the life path of each veteran, from his childhood and reasons for joining the military to his combat experience and its impact on his life. *The Fighters* is a brutally honest examination of what war does to the soul and brings into sharp focus the necessity of being absolutely sure of the purpose, goals, strategies and end results before asking citizen soldiers to stand on the front line to defend American interests.

—Dave Kindy

Instrument of War: The German Army 1914–18, by Dennis Showalter, Osprey Publishing, New York, N.Y., 2018, \$30

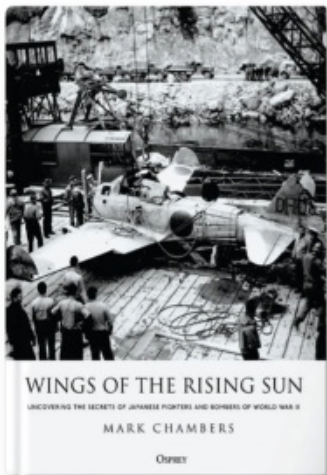
Instrument of War is the most incisive volume to date on the German army in World War I, skillfully refuting hide-bound myths, while clarifying the insights of recent scholarship.

While prior writers have spoofed the image of the German army as a set of Prussian automatons striding out of propaganda posters, *Military History* contributor Dennis Showalter emphasizes just how slack this force was in multiple dimensions. While formidable in comparison to its foes at the outset of the war, the Germany army was far from mobile, adequately equipped or even sufficiently trained—“less a parade of warriors,” Showalter observes, “than a state of citizens in uniforms.”

The weakening of the army's right flank under Helmuth von Moltke the Younger is well known, but the errors of German planning were far more consequential. In addition to a lack of mobile transport, radio and telephone communications were woefully inadequate. Thus even the finest-tuned

Reviews

Recommended



Wings of the Rising Sun

Mark Chambers

This heavily illustrated study explores World War II Allied efforts to gather intelligence on Japanese aircraft. Through the establishment of Technical Air Intelligence Units in the Pacific and in Washington, D.C., the Allies' testing and evaluation of captured enemy aircraft and equipment helped reveal the weaknesses of Japanese army and navy aircraft.



Saving Private Ryan

Steven Spielberg (director)

The classic war film has been released in stunning 4K resolution for its 20th anniversary and the 75th anniversary of the June 1944 Normandy invasion, which is the setting for the story. The release features a newly remixed Dolby Atmos soundtrack, Dolby Vision high dynamic range video and a second disc with three hours of behind-the-scenes extras.

assault may well have sputtered to a halt.

Failure was inevitable, though under the duress of the subsequent grinding years of combat, the German army transformed itself in ingenious directions. Larger structures of command and control became almost irrelevant, as battalion commanders assumed greater control over their respective sectors. Germany also became aware that its weaponry, not manpower, determined its success on the battlefield—largely because it had no manpower to spare. It therefore reoriented its fronts around zone defenses relying on machine guns and increasingly efficacious artillery placement. Superior allied weaponry and manpower were also nimbly countered; even British and French tanks were effectively blunted with grenades, tungsten core bullets and field guns. German planners—often regarded as spendthrifts, even when flush with ample resources—made remarkably effective use of increasingly meager means as the war dragged on. This had less to do with the authoritarianism of Erich Ludendorff and Paul von Hindenburg and more to do with the considerable flexibility of their frontline units.

A common problem in the German army was the paucity of midlevel talent. But commanders took note of the rare exceptions. Georg Bruchmüller's masterful artillery direction during the 1917 assault on

Riga, for example, led the army brass to imitate his approach with considerable success in Operation Michael the following year.

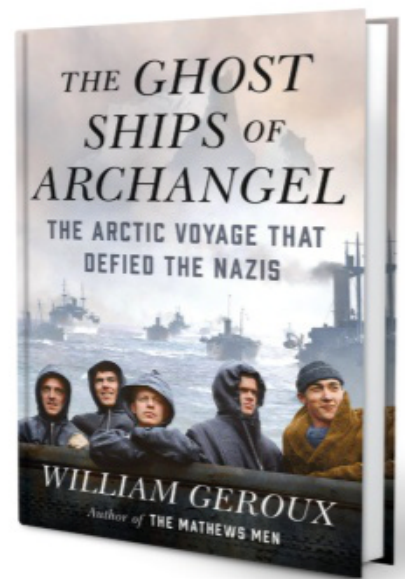
But while Germany refined its offensive tactics by 1918, its army was no longer prepared or able to carry them out. The army, notes Showalter, was "best understood as a force optimized for defense and counter-attack in limited contexts that was suddenly required to shift its focus to offense and exploitation in an operationally open-ended situation." Though it accomplished one remarkable transformation, taking on another, as history bore out, was beyond its ability.

—Anthony Paletta

The Ghost Ships of Archangel: The Arctic Voyage That Defied the Nazis,

by William Geroux,
Viking Press, 2019, \$28

Merchant seamen have always received short shrift in American military histories. Based on a true story, *The Ghost Ships of Archangel* concerns the seamen of the disastrous July 1942 Arctic convoy PQ-17, whose men and ships were left to fend for themselves while en route to the Soviet Union. That decision was not the idea of the Allied navy men on the escorting warships. Naval Intelligence in London had ordered the convoy to scatter because it believed the German battleship *Tirpitz* had sailed from its base in Norway to attack the ves-

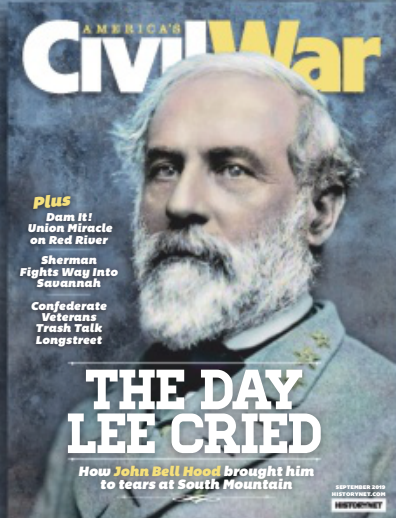


sels. In fact, the German High Seas Fleet had sent some of its most powerful ships out to engage the convoy—only to abort the sortie, unknown to the Allies. While scattering the convoy averted mass slaughter by the surface warships, it left the cargo vessels vulnerable to patrolling enemy aircraft and U-boats, thus dooming 24 of the 35 ships in Convoy PQ-17.

The Ghost Ships of Archangel relates the saga of four ships whose crews beat the odds and made it to Archangel. Banding together into a mini-convoy of their own, they decided that whether they headed east to Russia or west to Iceland, they would probably fall victim to German aircraft or submarines. Instead, on their own initiative they headed north, deep into the Arctic ice, where they felt they had a better chance of evading attack. As in his previous book, *The Mathews Men*, author William Geroux here shares a gripping story of seamen pitted as much against the elements as the enemy.

—Robert Guttman

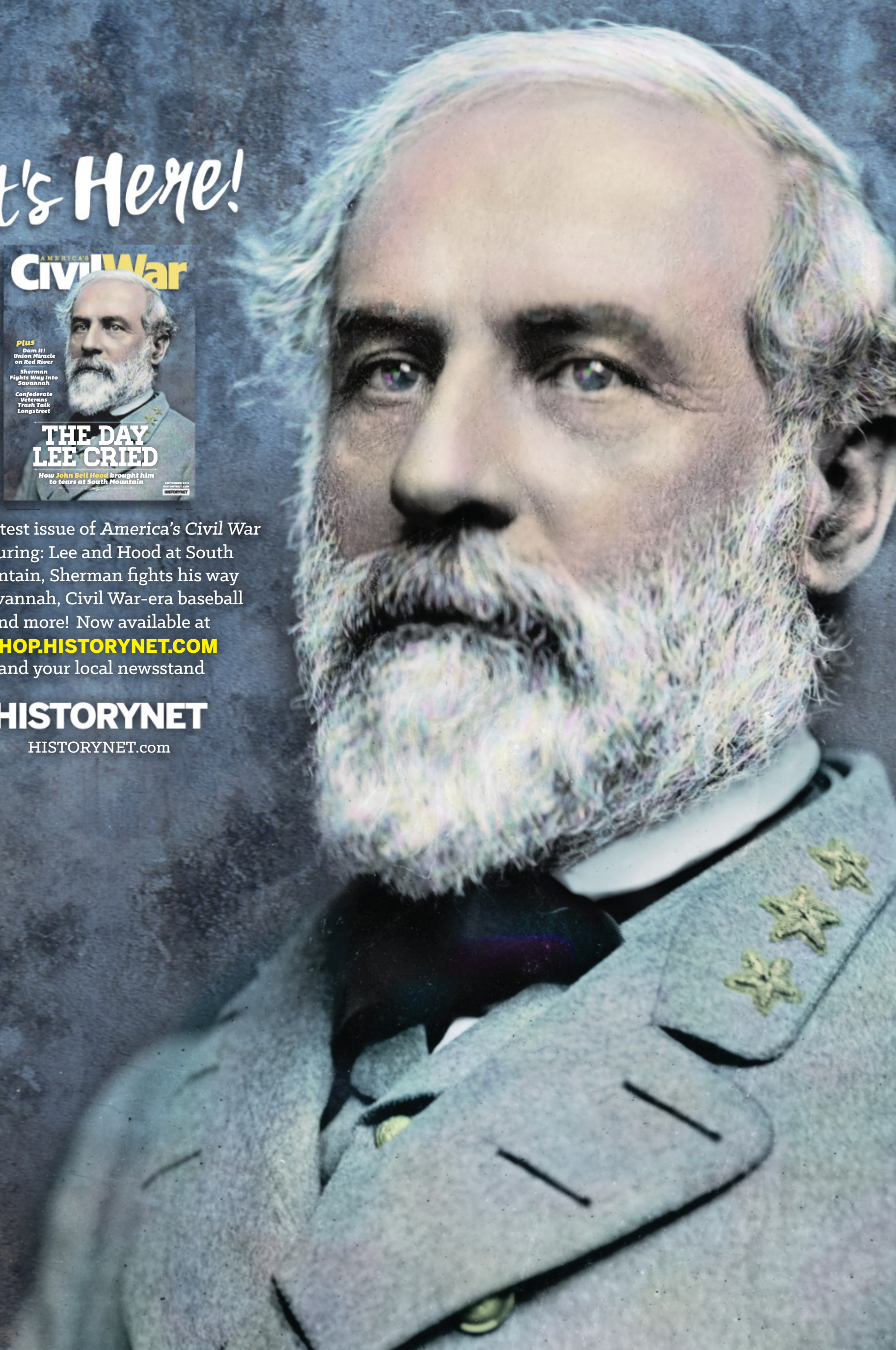
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Hallowed Ground Kilometer Zero Western Front, France

By David T. Zabecki

The World War I Western Front spanned some 330 miles as the crow flies, from Nieuport on the Belgian coast southeast to the Swiss border. Less than a mile from the Alsatian village of Pfetterhouse is the southern anchor point, known then and now as Kilometer Zero, which remained fixed from late August 1914 through war's end. Marking the spot is a four-sided stone post dating from 1743—Swiss frontier marker No. 111. During the war no-man's-land was the narrow Largue River, the Germans occupying the east bank, the French the west. To the south the Swiss army deployed observers to prevent either side from trying to outflank the other through their neutral territory.

Alsace is part of France today, but in 1914 it was a German territory. Since losing the region to Germany under the terms of the 1871 Treaty of Frankfurt, the French had placed its reacquisition high on their list of national priorities. Indeed,

The armies dug in, built forts, then raided, shelled, bombed and sniped at each other

on Aug. 7, 1914, the First Army's VII Corps under General Louis Bonneau launched France's opening offensive by attacking into Alsace, headed for the Rhine River. The next day the French took Mulhouse, the largest city in the Sundgau region. But on August 9 the German Seventh Army under General Josias von Heeringen counterattacked and drove the French back almost to their line of departure.

Determined to retake Alsace, the French command sacked Bonneau, reinforced VII Corps and attacked east again on August 14. By the 19th its troops had retaken Mulhouse and all the ground south to the border. But setbacks elsewhere along the front soon forced the French to shift VII Corps north. On August 26 the unit withdrew from Mulhouse and most of the Sundgau, leaving only a covering

force in western Alsace. While Germany redeployed most of its Seventh Army north, it left a robust force to cover from the west bank of the Rhine to the eastern face of the Vosges Mountains. On the Swiss border the French managed to retain Pfetterhouse.

The combatants fought several major engagements in the Vosges, but for the duration of the war no further large-scale clashes broke out in Sundgau. The respective armies dug in, built reinforced concrete fortifications, then raided, shelled, bombed and sniped at each other. The Swiss, meanwhile, built a line of observation posts along the border. Not meant to be fighting positions, they were built of wood and earth. The main Swiss defensive line lay several thousand yards to the rear. Flouting the relatively flimsy border security measures, both French and German deserters slipped across into neutral Switzerland. Most would live to see home again. But by war's end some 60,000 German and 59,000 French soldiers had been killed in Alsace, including those fighting in the Vosges. Their bodies rest in 34 German and 56 French military cemeteries.

Several years ago a local preservation group built a well-marked historical hiking trail anchored on Kilometer Zero. Several defensive positions have been partially restored. Shell craters and trench lines remain visible in spots, as do a few large aerial bomb craters. Designated stops feature interpretive signs in French, German and English, with maps and period photos.

Highlights include the ruins of the southernmost German position, a concrete machine gun outpost about 100 yards from the Swiss border. Set farther back, about 500 yards from Pfetterhouse, the remarkably well-preserved Villa Agathe is the southernmost concrete bunker on what was the French side of no-man's-land. Only a few feet south of the border sits Swiss army observation post No. 2. The present-day wooden blockhouse is a faithful reproduction built in 2013 by actual Swiss army engineers. Directly in front of it is the venerable old Kilometer Zero marker, where it stood throughout the war and in the century of regional peace since. **MH**



Top: This massive Swiss blockhouse overlooked the border with Germany. Middle and bottom left: The Swiss-German border in 1914 and today. Above: Rebuilt by present-day Swiss army engineers, observation post No. 2 overlooks Kilometer Zero.

War Games



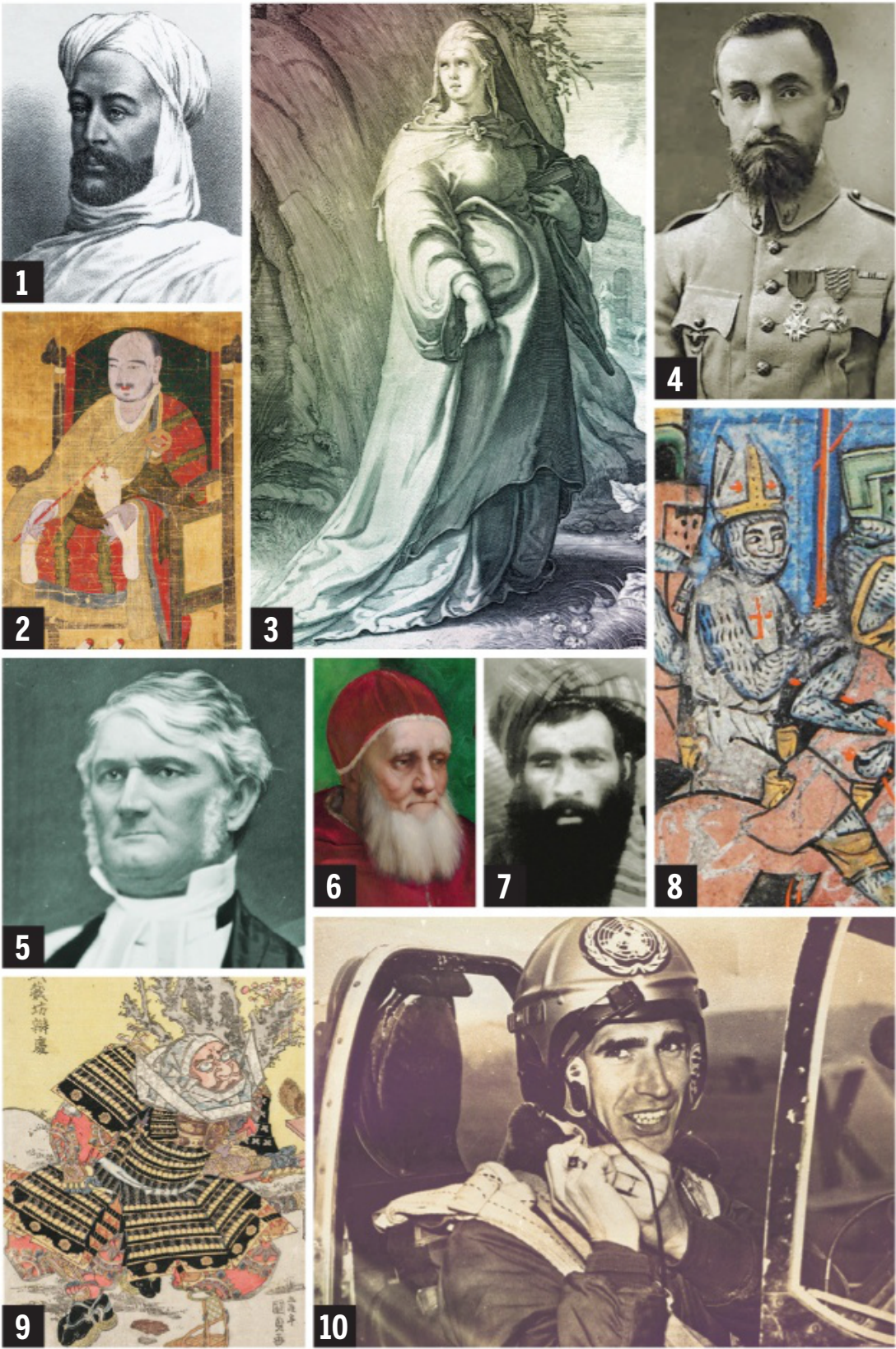
An Isle Too Far

Match each of the following islands to the force that paid a heavy price to take it:

- 1. Wake, 1941
- 2. Rhodes, 1522
- 3. Cyprus, 1974
- 4. Iwo Jima, 1945
- 5. Saaremaa Islands, 1944
- 6. Sphacteria, 425 BC
- 7. Crete, 1941
- 8. Sicily, 212 BC
- 9. Biak, 1944
- 10. Tyre, 332 BC

- ___ A. Roman army and navy
- ___ B. Soviet army and navy
- ___ C. Athenian army and navy
- ___ D. Japanese navy and army
- ___ E. Macedonian army
- ___ F. U.S. 41st Infantry Division
- ___ G. Ottoman army and navy
- ___ H. German Fallschirmjäger
- ___ I. U.S. Marine Corps
- ___ J. Turkish army and navy

Answers: A8, B5, C6, D1, E10, F9, G2, H7, I4, J3



Fighting by Faith

Can you identify those above who battled by word and sword?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| ___ A. Leonidas Polk | ___ F. Hyujeong |
| ___ B. Adhémar of Le Puy | ___ G. Dean Hess |
| ___ C. Prophet Deborah | ___ H. Muhammad Ahmad |
| ___ D. Mohammed Omar | ___ I. Pope Julius II |
| ___ E. Léon Bourjade | ___ J. Benkei |

Answers: A5, B8, C3, D7, E4, G10, H1, I6, J9

LEFT: U.S. NAVY; 1: DIE GARTENLAUBE; 2: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART; 3: RUJSMUSEUM; 4: MISSIONARIES OF THE SACRED HEART AUSTRALIA; 5: LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; 6: THE NATIONAL GALLERY; 7: REWARDS FOR JUSTICE; 8: BRITISH LIBRARY; 9: CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART; 10: U.S. AIR FORCE

History Repeats

New Orleans is not alone in having seen multiple clashes. Witness the following embattled spots:



- 1. In 480 BC Persians overwhelmed the Spartans at Thermopylae. Which invaders burst through the same pass in 279 BC?**
A. Gauls **B.** Romans
C. Goths **D.** Germans
- 2. The French held Fort Carillon against the British in 1758. Who seized the renamed Fort Ticonderoga from the British in 1775?**
A. French **B.** Hurons
C. Colonial rebels **D.** Mohawks
- 3. In 1781 the Continental and French armies took Yorktown. Who besieged it in 1862?**
A. George B. McClellan
B. John B. Magruder
C. Ulysses S. Grant
D. Joseph E. Johnston
- 4. In 1565 Malta held against the Ottoman Turks. Who threatened it in 1940?**
A. Britain **B.** Germany
C. Spain **D.** Italy

Answers: A, C, A, D

THE M SERIES PATTON TANKS ARE NAMED FOR GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING GENERALS NEVER HAD A TANK NAMED IN HIS HONOR?

John J. Pershing, Jeb Stuart, Adna R. Chafee Jr., Walton Walker, or Stonewall Jackson?

For more, visit

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ANSWER: STONEWALL JACKSON.
THE M46 PATTON WAS ONE OF THE U.S.
ARMY'S PRINCIPAL MEDIUM TANKS OF
THE EARLY COLD WAR, WITH MODELS IN
SERVICE FROM 1949 UNTIL THE MID-1950s.

Captured!

Blowing off Steam

Back in Britain on June 1, 1940, a bagpiper plays a jaunty tune as he and fellow Scots—all evacuees from Dunkirk, France—settle aboard a train bound for their regimental depot. There they will begin the process of rebuilding their unit for future battles and better outcomes.

**OFFICIAL US MINT
COMMEMORATIVE**



Actual size
is 30.6 mm

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On July 20, 1969, everything changed. As the world watched on flickering television screens, man first set foot on the surface of the moon. We had finally reached the heavens—and America led the way.

In honor of the 50th anniversary of the Apollo 11 mission, Congress has authorized the release of this special, limited-edition commemorative half dollar.



Award-Winning Curvature Makes U.S. Mint History

Only one other time in history has the U.S. Mint released a coin with a curved surface—and that coin won the coveted, international Coin of the Year Award. Now the mint has resurrected that technology to help celebrate the greatest achievement of our lifetime.

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